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THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. I. No. 1

March, 1925



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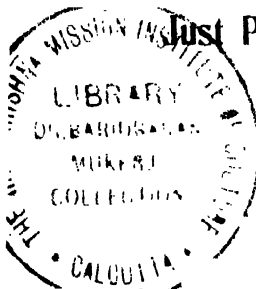
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THE Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. I

MARCH 1925

NO. 1

Introduction

It would seem that as there are already so many journals in which Indian history and civilization are discussed, there is no need for a new one. Those who have tried to follow the development of Indian historical research in later times will know, however, how extremely difficult it is to do so. It is necessary to look for information in so many different periodicals, and the number of separate books and publications dealing with the various periods and the numerous problems is so rapidly increasing from year to year that it is not an easy task to know what has already been done.

An Indian Historical Quarterly will therefore be very welcome, and we have every reason for being thankful to Dr. Narendra Nath Iaw for taking the initiative.

There are numerous problems connected with the history of India which are of general interest and do not concern India only. The latest discoveries in Sind and in the Punjab have raised the question about a possible connection between India and the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, which latter has played such a prominent rôle in the development of the Western world. If the antiquities unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa belong to an old civilization connected with that of the Sumerians, which came to an end about 3000 years B. C., we shall have to

reconsider the question about the date of the Aryan invasion of India in the light of these new finds, and it is probable that we shall arrive at results which are calculated to modify our ideas about the history of the Aryan and the Indo-European periods in the history of our race. We shall be able to judge better about the relations existing between the different countries and the different civilizations in ancient times than we can at the present day, and we shall probably find that there was much more intercourse and much less isolation than many people have been inclined to think.

There are other questions which likewise take us outside the borders of India. Who were the Dravidians, and whence did they come? What can we find out about the ancient civilization which perhaps preceded the Dravidians and the Aryans in India and in the continent and islands surrounding the Indian seas, and what does it teach us about the development of the eastern world in pre-historic times?

If we turn to later times, the importance of Indian history does not become less. Time after time foreign invaders have entered the country and founded empires of varying importance and duration. Indian history has seldom been restricted to India itself. It forms an important chapter in the general history of the world; and the Indian trade, which looms so large in the statistics of many modern nations, has always been important. The history of the trade of the world would be incomplete if India's share in it were not carefully studied.

Still more such considerations hold good with him who tries to disentangle the history of the development of human thought and human ideals during the ages. Here, a conspicuous place is to be accorded to India, not only in modern times, but also in bygone ages. And much, very much, patient spade work will have to be done before we can hope to draw the historical outlines.

To the students of history in general, a periodical which is devoted to Indian history will, for such and for other reasons which I need not here detail, be extremely welcome. Much more still, however, will that be the case from the view-point of the Indian student.

India is slowly, but surely, making her re-entrance as a separate unit in the world's concert. The Indian tribes and races are developing into a real nation, with its own aims and its own tendencies; and the Indian people will necessarily take a greater interest in its past history.

An ancient people will never be able to hold its own in the world, if it chooses to live exclusively on loans from abroad. It must build up its future on the safe foundation of its material and spiritual experience in the past. It cannot live in the past and seclude itself from the outside world by means of Chinese walls. The ancient barriers have been broken down, and every country must, at the present day, enter into competition and co-operation with all the rest. But it cannot enter into the complicated system of the modern world without backbone. And only a thorough understanding of the past, with intimate knowledge of such power and forces as have been developed out of the peculiar faculties of the people itself, can give the necessary self-reliance and strength if it is not to lose its individuality and become a mere spectator of the great drama.

With the growth of the national idea in India, the interest in the country's history must go hand in hand. It is India, with all her traditions and all her ancient history, which must secure her entrance in the modern world; and an historical journal is bound to occupy an important place in the development.

All those who have learnt to know India and to love India, whether they are Indians or foreigners, will therefore welcome the new Quarterly. It will become an important source of information and a proper centre for discussion and research.

The necessary condition is, however, that the undertaking is conducted in a scientific and critical spirit. It will not be enough to dwell on such periods in Indian history as bear witness to great power and strength. Also the times of decadence and disaster belong to the people's history and are often peculiarly interesting in its development.

If such principles become the leading feature, the Indian Historical Quarterly will become an important undertaking, and the editor will be entitled to the gratitude of the world of scholars and of his country.

STEN KONOW

The Date of Zoroaster and the *Rgveda*

Professor Johannes Hertel has recently announced¹ his conclusion that a complete error has been made in accepting Indian tradition as a guide to the elucidation of the early history of India, and has claimed that our only authorities must be the actual texts, supplemented by the information to be gained from older or contemporary works. In this spirit he has revived the older idea that it is to the *Avesta* that we must look for evidence of the first weight in estimating both the date and the place of composition of the *Rgveda*, and he has arrived at the conclusion that the period of Zoroaster's activity fell about 550 B. C. and that the *Rgveda* was in large measure contemporaneous with the *Avesta* and was composed during the period when the wanderings of the Aryan tribes were not yet com-

plotted. This claim involves two distinct issues, the date of the Zoroaster, and the contemporaneity of the *Rigveda* and Zoroaster, and the importance of the question for our view of the beginnings of Aryan influence on India is such as to justify full examination of his thesis, specially since its author adduces positive arguments and does not rely on vague impressions.

Herodotos, it is pointed out, shows no knowledge of the teaching of Zoroaster, but instead reports a condition of affairs representing faithfully the old nature worship of the priests, Magoi, to which the Zoroastrian reform was opposed. Zoroaster introduced a strong dualism based on moral principles, composed his pantheon of abstract figures, and treated the old nature powers, water, wind, earth, sun, moon, and dawn, as no more than mere natural objects, degrading to demons the *Daēvas* of the older faith. To the supporters of the Good Spirit he assigns the bliss of heaven, to the adherents of the Druj abode in hell. Moreover, he attacked the practice of the sacrifice of animals, disapproved of the Haoma offering and of drunkenness, ignored the cult of the dog, a remnant from the period of nomadic life, and apparently did not approve the practice of the Magoi in exposing the bodies of the dead to dogs and birds. He says nothing of the wickedness of defiling water or fire, and he is a stranger to the vehement carrying out of the doctrine of dualism, which in the *Later Avesta* shows us the priests demanding the slaughter of all those creatures which were ranked as opposed to the Good Spirit. Herodotos¹ ignores all these traits; he shows us the worship of the nature powers, the sky, sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and wind; the sacrifice of animals; drunkenness as a prevailing practice; the exposure of the dead by the Magoi, and their devotion to slaying ants, snakes, other reptiles, and birds, while dogs they ranked with men as inviolable.

All this is clear and not open to serious dispute. But it is not easy to agree with the conclusion derived therefrom that the religion of Zoroaster must have been little known in Persian circles, and that Zoroaster could not have lived long before the date of Herodotos's visit to Persia or the reign of Xerxes I. Two views have been held with regard to the relation of Zoroaster and the Magoi. Dr. Hope Moulton¹ contended energetically in favour of the view that Zoroaster represented genuine Iranian views as against those of the aboriginal nomads whose priests the Magoi were. But this view seems to have little that is attractive in it². Much more plausible is the view accepted by Professor Hertel that the Magoi represented the true Iranian nature worship, upon which Zoroaster induced a moral dualism, which is recorded for us in the Gāthās of the *Avesta*, while in the *Later Avesta* we have the synthesis which the Magoi effected between the old religion and Zoroastrian reform, a synthesis in which pedantry and priestcraft have exaggerated and deformed much of what was noblest in Zoroaster's teaching. The conclusion, however, that Zoroaster himself was not a priest but a peasant, seems wholly unwarranted. It rests on an unsupported theory that Zoroaster represents a sharper break with the past than is plausible. We are at least entitled to assume that the essence of Zoroaster's work lay in developing and making distinct the germs of morality which in every religion of importance soon came to be associated with nature deities. The only tradition we have of him asserts consistently that he was one of the Magoi, and the whole point of Hertel's argument against this view lies in his contrast between him and the Magoi of the *Later Avesta*, ignoring the practical certainty that the earlier Magoi were far less fanatical. Reflexion on the development of religious feeling will show that the introduction of fanaticism

1 *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 152 ff.

2 See Keith, *REL*, 1915, pp. 790-798.

was largely due to Zoroaster's own teaching, for he certainly introduced into religion a moral emphasis which must result, human and priestly nature being such as it is, in vehemence of opposition to what is classed as bad which is foreign to religions with a less ethical turn.

In the light of these considerations we see another possibility. Instead of proving that Zoroaster was recent, Herodotos's silence may rather establish that he was early, and that, when Herodotos visited Persia, he did not appear in the light of a recent reformer, whose name would naturally be learned by an enquirer, but as a person of remote antiquity. Positively this argument is inconclusive, but it definitely negates the possibility of attaching any conclusive force to the contention in favour of the late date of Zoroaster based on the silence of Herodotos.

Moreover, against the negative evidence we have to set a very distinct fact. The Lydian Xanthos, who was a contemporary of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B. C.), is recorded in two different sources¹ as mentioning Zoroaster, and the second of these expressly mentions that he assigned him to a period 6000 years before the invasion of Xerxes and called him one of the Magoi. Unfortunately, as is inevitably the case in regard to numbers preserved only in *ms.* tradition, we have the variant 600, and there are many considerations which may be adduced in favour of that reading². On the other hand there was the belief vouched for by Hermodorus in the fourth century B. C. that Zoroaster lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, or as put later 6000 years before Alexander, and this fact may be regarded as supporting the earlier date given by Xanthos³. It is important also that in a fragment of Xanthos preserved by Nikolaos of Damascus, who wrote in the first century B. C., we find

1 See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 232, 241.

2 See Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 572, n. 8.

3 See Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 152 ff.

it recorded in connexion with the effort of Kroisos to burn himself on the fall of Sardis before the unexpected Persian attack that the Persians remembered the rule of Zoroaster against the defiling of the fire by burning the dead or otherwise. From the fact that Zoroaster was thus early credited with the Later Avestan doctrine of the purity of fire, it may quite fairly be deduced that he lived very considerably earlier than Xanthos of Lydia, whose Asiatic origin may justly be assumed to give his reports great weight. As Hertel merely vaguely suggests that the statements attributed to Xanthos are not authentic, and, as there is really not a scrap of evidence for such a view, we may safely hold that the silence of Herodotos is outweighed by the evidence of Xanthos, and that no conclusion for a later date of Zoroaster is admissible from it. Xanthos, on the other hand, attests the belief which was always held in Greece, that Zoroaster was a very ancient sage, and, if we take the date 600 before the expedition of Xerxes, we obtain a date of 1080 B. C. which is not itself implausible, although to give it credence on its own merits alone would be obviously impossible.

Other Greek testimony is of less account; the author of the pseudo-Platonic, but early, dialogue *Alkibiades I* records that Persian princes were instructed in the Magesia of Zoroaster, and Aristotle ascribed Zoroaster to 6000 years before the death of Plato.

Turning to the evidence from the Persian inscriptions, we find that Dareios I avows his deep devotion to Auramazdā, while before him we have according to Hertel no historical evidence whatever of the existence of this god either in Persian sources or in Herodotos. It follows therefore, that we must assume that Dareios trusted in the aid of a god who was the god par excellence of his family, and that Zoroaster must have lived in or before his time. The evidence of Herodotos, it is said, shows how few adherents Zoroastrianism had even under Xerxes I, and this fact is fatal to the view that Zoroaster lived a few centuries before that date.

A religion, it is contended, if after some centuries it has only a few adherents, could not suddenly develop in strength. This contention, however, appears to be without any cogency. If Zoroaster started his religious innovations some centuries before, and if the tradition had been kept up in the line whence Dareios sprang, it is not difficult to suppose that his success in overthrowing his foes, supported by the whole power of the Magoi who espoused the cause of Gaumāta, who claimed to be the brother of the dead Kambyzes and therefore heir to the throne, may have roused his devotion to his family god, and induced him for the time to spread the Zoroastrian faith. The probability of Hertel's view is, therefore, negligible, and more serious proof is requisite.

This certainly cannot be deduced from the terms of the inscriptions of Dareios, which say nothing whatever about the introduction of a new deity. Hertel's claim that the conclusion of the Naksh-i-rustam inscription in which he bids men obey the commands of the god is only consistent with the introduction of a new deity is wholly inconclusive.

But a more concrete argument is adduced in the renewal of the old suggestion that in Vishtāspa the father of Dareios, we are to find Vishtāspa the patron of Zoroaster, and in the claim that this agrees with the traditional date of Zoroaster. The latter is unanimous in placing the beginning of his ministry 258 years before the commencement of Alexander's reign, or 272 years before the end of that reign, which gives us 595 or 594 B. C.¹ Hertel, however, candidly admits that in the main the Parsi tradition is utterly worthless,—it is not merely extremely late in its records but it displays deplorable ignorance of history² and his defence of it in this case rests on very feeble grounds. Sects, he contends, would place their founder at an earlier rather

1 See Jackson, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 157 ff.

2 See Meyer, KZ. xlii. 1, n. 2.

than a later date : the conclusion from this argument would seem to be that they have exaggerated the date of Zoroaster rather than that it is reliable, and Hertel really abandons tradition in favour of a somewhat later date. He refers to Anquetil du Perron's statement¹ that a religious sect which immigrated into China in 600 A. D. is evidently Zoroastrian in origin and that it has an era approximately of 559 B. C., which may be regarded as the date when Zoroaster left his home and entered on his mission. On the strength of this worthless piece of evidence, Hertel places Zoroaster about 550 B. C. as a preliminary to establishing the identity of his father with the patron of Zoroaster.

In this effort Hertel has no traditional support : one thing is clear : the tradition asserted that the Vishtāspa who patronised Zoroaster was not the father of Dareios, but a Kavi-Vishtāspa, as the Gāthas call him, who according to the tradition was of the Kayanian dynasty founded by Kavāta. Hertel maintains that the term Kavi means merely prince, but assuming this to be correct, we are left with the fact that there is no obvious reason why tradition should have invented the dynasty and ignored the connection with the Achaimenidai. Hertel argues that it was due to their dislike of Dareios who slew the Magoi, but this is clearly something of a tour de force, as is his belief that the genealogy of Zoroaster is purely mythical, invented in order to make him one of the Magoi. But there is a further consideration, which makes it unlikely that Hertel's statement is true that the only Vishtāspa with whom we have to do must be Dareios's father. Moulton² has justly pointed out that Kyros gave his daughter the name Atossa, the Avestan Hutaosā, the name of the wife of Vishtāspa, Zoroaster's patron. It can hardly be denied that this use of the name of the wife of Vishtāspa in one branch of the Achaimenidai, coupled with

¹ Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 165.

² Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 47.

the use of Vishtāspa's name in the other, proves that both branches knew of a Vishtāspa and Hutaosā earlier than either.

Finally Hertel seeks to show that the Gāthā preserved as *Yasna* liii, which was composed for the marriage of Zoroaster's daughter Pourucistā, really contains in veiled form an exhortation by Zoroaster addressed to Vishtāspa to take up arms against the Magos Gaumāta who had usurped the throne. The Gāthā then falls between April 2 and September 29, 522 B. C. The exhortation, it is supposed, was lost on Vishtāspa but accepted by the more energetic Darius, who was thus fired to secure his succession to the throne and induced to become a convinced adherent of Zoroaster's god. It may fairly be said that the Gāthā in no way lends itself to such a hidden meaning, and this argument certainly does not strengthen Hertel's thesis.

Hertel recognises that his view is opposed to that of Eduard Meyer¹ among others, and he seeks to meet the argument derived by that scholar from the occurrence of the names Mazlaku or Maztaku as names of two Median princes in a list of twenty three found in an inscription of Sargon (722-705 B. C.), reflecting probably that king's victories in Media in 715-713 B. C. Meyer naturally held that the two princes by this nomenclature asserted their connection with the faith of Ahura Mazdāh. Hertel objects that *a priori* the names are not to be taken as theophoric, since no others in the list are of this kind. This contention, however, is clearly without value. It is no objection to the view that two princes should have theophoric names that others have not. Further the contention that the names may be derived merely from the Avestan counterpart of the Vedic *medhā*, which is used from time to time in Indian names, is merely a possibility, which leaves Meyer's argument still plausible. But, what is far more important, Hertel ignores entirely the argument which

1. Meyer, KZ. xlii, 16.

can be deduced from the occurrence in an inscription¹ of Assurbanipal of the name Assara Mazāsh. The inscription itself goes back to the middle of the seventh century B. C., and whatever else it does it disproves entirely the contention of Hertel that we hear nothing of Ahura Mazdāh until he appears in the inscriptions of Dareios and contemporaneously in the Gāthās of Zoroaster. The form of the name, however, obviously represents an older form than the Ahura Mazdāh of the Avesta, and Hommel who discovered the reference suggested that the borrowing of the name should be assigned to the Kassite period of Babylonian history, say 1700 to 1200 B. C. This would induce us to put the worship of Ahura Mazdāh as earlier than Zoroaster, and this accords well with the position suggested above, that Zoroaster was the man who extended and deepened a moral and abstract tendency in Iranian thought, not the man who suddenly overthrew a purely non-moral nature worship.

We are left thus with nothing definite regarding Zoroaster's date, save that it was probably a good deal earlier than Kyros. Hertel ignores the difficulty presented by the absolute silence of Dareios regarding Zoroaster, which points rather distinctly to the fact that Zoroaster belonged to a considerably earlier period, and that he has not yet assumed in the eyes of kings at least the extraordinary importance accorded to him in the *Later Avesta*. Indeed it has often been held that Dareios was not even a Zoroastrian², and he certainly was a lax one, but in any case we cannot really suppose that, if he owed his incentive to monarchy from Zoroaster, he would so wholly have passed him over in his inscriptions when magnifying the god of whom Zoroaster was the prophet. A hint at a more definite dating might be obtained if we could believe that the name Phraortes, borne by the father of Deiokes,

1 Hommel, *l'Éd.* 1899, pp. 127 ff.

2 Casartelli, *The Religion of the Great Kings*; L. H. Gray, *ERE*, i. 66-73.

founder of the Median kingdom, was correctly rendered "confessor," Fravartish, thus establishing its bearer as an exponent of the doctrines of Zoroaster¹. But the evidence for this view is too slight to be considered valid.

We reach, therefore, the conclusion that Hertel's effort to date the *Gāthās* of the *Avesta* has failed definitely, and with it the value of his evidence connecting the *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta* becomes minimal. But it must be noted that his evidence on this score so far as it has been presented is scanty and unattractive. The *Ṛgveda*² uses the term *devanid*, 'those who scorn the Devas.' Now, it is contended, none but the Zoroastrians can be meant by this term, for Zoroaster was the revolutionary who overthrew the Devas, and in no other people do we find such a treatment of the gods of light prior to Christianity. The argument seems deplorably weak; India in *Ṛgveda* times was obviously strongly influenced by aboriginal tribes who, we may be sure, were regarded as hostile to the Aryan gods by the Vedic Indians, just as in Homer we have the gods ranged against one side or another in hostility according as they favour the Achæians or the Trojans.

Secondly, it is contended that the term *brahma-dvīṣ* in the *Ṛgveda* applies primarily at least to the Zoroastrians. The explanation of this view is complex. It rests on the doctrine that to Zoroaster the soul (*daēnā*) existed both before and after its earthly experience, while in the Veda the doctrine of the Brahman was held, according to which there is a heavenly fire whence springs the individual and into which the individual is resolved at death. The Zoroastrians, accordingly, may justly be styled *brahma-dvīṣ*. Yet common sense tells us that the term simply means "hating the Brahmins", and has nothing whatever to do with a complex mystical theory of the nature of the Brahman. Still less can we accept the

1 Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 1.

2 i. 152. 2; ii. 23. 8; vi. 61. 3.

theory of Hertel that the term *brahma-dviṣ* in *Ṛgveda* vii. 104. 2 obviously applies to the Piśācas, who are then identified with the Padaioi, nomads of the Indus valley, in Herodotus (iii. 99), for the passage applies the term to a Rakṣas, and we need have no hesitation in finding in India itself demons and foes sufficient to explain the term *brahma-dviṣ*.

We must, therefore, acquiesce in essentially negative conclusions, nor unfortunately have the results of recent discoveries in Asia thrown any very effective light on the early history of the Indo-Iranians. Hertel incidentally cites with approval the effort of Ipsen¹ to establish that the unity of the Indo-Europeans lasted to about 2000 B. C. The evidence, however, is inadequate; it rests on nothing more substantial than the assumption that the form of the word "star" was borrowed by the Indo-Europeans when still united about the time of Hammurabi². The assumption lacks, unfortunately, any serious ground. There is not sufficient evidence to prove that the word actually was borrowed from Babylonian, and still less to prove borrowing at the specific time alleged.

Another effort has been made by Peake³ to sketch a time table of Indo-European movements. Rejecting the view of Giles⁴, which selects the Hungarian area as the original home, or at least relegating it to the remote past of the race, he finds in them the people known as Kurgan builders or red ochre people who occupied according to archaeological evidence a wide area on the steppes east of the Dnieper, extending perhaps even as far as Turkestan. From this home, where they had on the west as neighbours the men of the Tripolye culture, which others have claimed as Indo-European⁵, various

¹ *IF.* xli, 177 f.

² Dated 2123-2081 B.C. or 1958-1916; See *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i. 147 ff.

³ *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 156 ff.

⁴ *Cambridge Hist. Ind.* i. 72.

⁵ Cf. *Bharatark* Commemoration Volume, p. 92.

movements took place, resulting in the wide appearance of peoples of Indo-European speech. A dispersal, due to drought on the steppes, seems to have sent some of them to the Baltic lands about 3000 B. C., but the main movement falls about 2200 B. C.¹ Then nomads attracted the attention of Hammurabi on the Iranian slopes, into which they introduced the horse; these were the Kassites whom he assumes from their language to have been Indo-European. The Āryas, who spoke Indo-European dialects, were still undivided about 2000 B. C., when they were occupying the eastern parts of Russian Turkestan. A little later a group of these speaking a dialect with Iranian affinities occupied eastern Armenia, constituting the Mitanni barons whom Sayce would connect with the Phrygian Midas, but who were earlier than the Phrygians and entered from the east, not the west. Other Indo-Europeans went west, passing over the seats of the older Tripolye culture, and divided; a section crossed the Hellespont, sacked the second city at Troy, and penetrated into Asia Minor, where they explain the Indo-European element in the Hittite Empire, which may have owed its political organisation to their efforts. About 1760 B. C. fresh moves took place; the Kassites established themselves in Mesopotamia, and the schism between the Indo-Europeans of the Aryan type took place, with the result that the Indians crossed Afghanistan and entered the Punjab, while the Iranians continued to roam the steppes of Turkestan finally crossing the Volga into South Russia, where they eventually occupied the plain as far west as the foot of the Carpathians.

The weakest point in this theory is the assertion of the Indo-European character of the Kassite, for it rests on nothing more substantial than a number of equations of divine names. Thus we are asked² to believe that Maruttash is Marut; Bugash Slav legu Phrygian Bagaïos; Shuriash Sūrya;

1 Presumably 2000 B.C. if the later date for Hammurabi is taken.

2 Cf. *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i, 553; *Cambridge Hist. Ind.* i, 76.

Buriash Greek Boreas; and even Shīmalia, "lady of the bright moutains," Himālaya. The last identification, which has the approval of Dr Giles, ignores the fact that Himālaya is not an early word, the Vedic being Himavant; it also leaves the long vowels out of account, and it rests on the view that the word refers to snow, which seems to have no foundation other than the supposed etymology. The Kassites may have contained Indo-European elements; what is clear is that this is not proved; Kassite language and deities in general are not Indo-European¹. The view, again, that the Mitanni are Iranian is far from established. The evidence rests on the names of the deities², Varuna, Mitra, the Nāsatyas, and Indra and on certain other words, including those numerals and terms of horse training which are found in a document emanating from a man of the Mitanni. The forms of the numerals have been confidently claimed as Indian, as have also the names of the deities. Careful examination, however, rather shows that they represent a stage earlier than Indian or Iranian³, and it must be remembered in any judgment on this score that we have Iranian only in the very developed form of the *Avesta*; if we could go back a century or two we might have forms much more Aryan than those actually found. The name Assara Mazāsh already noted belongs probably to the same speech period, when Indian and Iranian were still in the making. To ascribe the Mitanni either to the Indian or the Iranian branch of the Āryas appears, therefore, unjustified on the information yet available. The result is important, because, if the names and words had been definitely Indian, we might have been compelled to revise our conception of the movements which produced the phenomena connected with the Mitanni.

1 See Robinson, *A/P.* xxv. 1 ff.

2 Cf. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 81 ff.

3 See *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i. 312.

As regards the Hittite Empire we may accept the view that Indo-European speech elements were introduced in some such way as Peake supposes. The speech, as investigations of the Hittite records show¹, was of the *centum* variety, and it has interwoven itself fantastically with proto-Hittite and perhaps other elements to form a curious blend. It will be remembered that Tocharian is also a *centum* speech, but we are without the necessary material to decide how, and when, the Tocharians arrived at their later home. Here again we end in uncertainty, but it is often wiser, and more favourable to advance in knowledge, to admit the existence of problems which cannot yet be solved. Peake, however, is clearly wrong in ascribing to the Hittite Empire Indo-European deities; the evidence is overwhelming that the Hittites knew these only as Mitanni gods.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

¹ See C. J. S. Marstcarder, *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite* (1919), pp. 168-172; II. Ang. xli. 8-11; Bloomfield, JAOS, xli. 195-209; Prince, *ibid.* 210-224; Sayce, JRAS. 1922, pp. 563 ff. and the discussions in ZDMG. LXXVI and LXXVII.

The Northern Buddhism

The Southern Buddhism was long known in Europe. In the beginning of the 16th century, when the Portuguese established their supremacy over the Indian Ocean and came in contact with Ceylon and Burma, the Indian Archipelago and Southern China, the Southern Buddhism with its pompous possessions, huge stūpas, big vihāras, and strict monastic system became known to them. It was after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 that a study of the Southern Buddhist literature was earnestly undertaken. The traditional history of Buddhism speaks of a schism in the second century of the Nirvāṇa Era. In this schism two parties of Buddhists separated never to meet again. The Southern Buddhism called in Sanskrit Sthavira-vāda, in Pāli Theravāda, has a history of its own but the Northern Buddhism is entirely ignored in its religious and traditional works.

So in Europe and India, Southern Buddhism was well-known in the 19th century while the Northern was not. Even the majority of the educated people in India think that Buddhism is only to be found in the southern countries of Asia, that its literature is all written in Pāli, that it is a huge monastic system, very strict in discipline, both moral and physical, and so on. They cannot even imagine that there could be a Buddhism where monasticism is absolutely loose, where the literature is written in a language other than Pāli, where worship of images prevails and where all food regulations are completely set aside. Even in works written by eminent European scholars, Southern Buddhism looms large and Northern Buddhism is summarily disposed of. Yet the votaries of Northern Buddhism are much larger in number, its philosophy is much deeper, the paraphernalia of worship are more imposing, and its history exceedingly interesting.

The discovery of Northern Buddhism is very recent. It became known in the early 19th century and its study began late in that century. Its study has made great strides and its modern literature has grown up to a considerable extent within the last forty years. The social, intellectual, and literary history of Northern India has been greatly benefited by these studies, and it is therefore desirable at this stage to write a history of its discovery and the progress of its study.

The Segauli treaty in 1816 brought to an end the most difficult war in which the East India Company was engaged in India. With extreme reluctance the Nepalese people agreed to have a British Resident in their capital. Shortly after the establishment of the Residency at Katamundu, Brian Hodgson came there as the Residency assistant. He was a learned man and well-informed in all matters relating to India. As an assistant he had not much work and his thirst after knowledge was very great. In a new country so little known to the outside world, he began to collect information on all subjects, scientific, literary, historical, and social. He found a strange religion professed by nearly half the people of the Valley, called Buddhism but differing *in toto* from the Buddhism known from books. He began to make his enquiries about this religion. Fortunately for him there was a very learned Buddhist at that time employed as the Munshi of the Residency. This was Amṛtānanda. He too had very little work and Brian Hodgson began to take his assistance. He induced the old Buddhist paṇḍit to write a book for him giving all information about the Buddhism prevailing in Nepal. The name of the book is *Dharma-koṣa-saṃgraha*. In the 78th leaf of the book, the author says :—

Rtūdadinidhāt verse śrāvaṇe kṛṣṇa āruṇe,
Śrīsāhetājñayā lekhaṃ Amṛtaḥ Śākyaśāsanah.

[The Buddhist Amṛta wrote this in N. S. 946 (1826 A. D.) under orders of a European gentleman i. e. Brian Hodgson]. Amṛtānanda was the head of the Mahābodhivihāra in Lalita-

pattan, the second city in Nepal and chiefly inhabited by Buddhists. This vihāra contains a replica of the Mahābodhi-caitya of Bodh-gayā. One of Amṛtānanda's ancestors came on pilgrimage to Bodh-gayā in the middle of the 17th century and lived there for three years though in the midst of jungles, and took the plan, elevation and picture of the Bodh gayā temple. On his return home he built a caitya exactly like that in Bodh-gayā; the caitya is still in existence. Hence the name of the vihāra is Mahābodhivihāra. Amṛtānanda was a profoundly learned man. He had already written many books in Sanskrit, and his new book is a noble performance and it gave Brian Hodgson an insight into the Buddhism of Nepal—the last remnant of Northern Buddhism in the soil of India, with a considerable literature in Sanskrit. With the help of Amṛtānanda, Brian Hodgson began to collect Buddhist manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts are on palm-leaf and very old, dating from the 11th and 12th centuries of Christian era. Some are on daphne paper called in Nepal Vanśapatra kāgaja. Some are copied for Mr. Hodgson in modern Nepal paper. How these manuscripts were collected is an interesting story. The copy of the Buddhacarita then found in Nepal was incomplete at the beginning and it came up to the middle of the 14th canto. Amṛtānanda got it copied but he completed the work himself adding more than two scores of verses in the beginning, completing the 14th canto and adding four cantos more himself, to bring the account of Buddha's life to a close.

Brian Hodgson distributed the manuscripts to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the India Office Library. On the strength of the materials thus supplied and by dint of personal observations Brian Hodgson wrote a large number of papers in the early volumes of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The illustrious Burnouf exploited the Mss. in Paris and wrote his history of Buddhism and translated the Saddharma

Puṇḍarīka. But for a long time the Mss. lay idle in all these places.

In the meanwhile Jung Bahadur, the Prime Minister of Nepal, took possession of one of the Nepalese Buddhist monasteries and threw away the Mss. on the street. Dr. Wright, the Residency Surgeon, coming to learn all these facts, went to Jung Bahadur and asked permission to take the Mss. away as they were of no use to him. Jung Bahadur readily gave his permission and Mr. Wright sent them to Cambridge where they remained idle for sometime. It became apparent within a short time that the Mss. were of great age. The Palaeographical Society having declared some of them to have been as old as the 9th, 10th, or 11th centuries, both Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Wright became anxious to know the contents of the Mss. Hodgson was constantly writing to the Asiatic Society to employ some scholar to make a descriptive catalogue of these Mss. and the Society after a long delay requested Raja R. L. Mitra to undertake the work. He appointed two paṇḍits to read the Mss. and to give their abstracts in Sanskrit, from which abstracts the Raja undertook to make a descriptive catalogue in English. But he fell ill and needed help, and so asked me in 1878 to look into these abstracts and render them into English. For five years the Raja, the Paṇḍits, and myself were engaged in this work and our work entitled *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* appeared in 1882 in the name of Raja R. L. Mitra. He spoke very kindly of my services to him and gave me an introduction in the preface of the work to the learned world which was very useful to me.

The Cambridge manuscripts were put in charge of Prof. C. C. Bendall and his catalogue of Cambridge Mss. was published in 1883. Prof. Bendall's catalogue did not go into the contents of the work beyond giving the full colophons or so to say the chapter headings, but he very accurately gave the post-colophon statements in which there was much historical information about the copying of the work, its date, the king

in whose reign the copy was made and other information of the highest importance to the history of Nepal. He discovered in these Mss. oldest Bengali writings, some of them going to times before the Musalman conquest of Bengal, one in transitional Gupta character going so far back as 859 A.D. He gave an historical introduction and a palæographical introduction to his catalogue and illustrated the description of some of the Mss. with plates. But as I have said before, he did not go into the contents of the works. That difficult task was performed by Raja R. L. Mitra. He gave the contents of every big work whether philosophical, ritualistic or religious. The shortcomings of these catalogues were many. The old writing was difficult to decipher. Many technical terms were but imperfectly understood, and the history and doctrines of Northern Buddhism were almost unknown. Yet these two works roused the interest of the savants of Europe and the students in India. The Archaeological Department of India though in its infancy had discovered in Sanchi, Barhut, Mathura and other places sculptures giving not only incidents of the life of Buddha but pictures illustrating the story of his former births and the good work done by his disciples and other great men who helped in the propagation of Buddhism. Many of these sculptures were explained by the *Jātaka-avadāna* stories from Rajendra Lal's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. I distinctly remember the Raja's interest in comparing these stories with those sculptures and his rapturous delight when he could identify one of the stories with one of these sculptures. The Archaeological Department also busied itself with the sculptures. The sculptures mostly went to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd century B.C. and it was wonderful that these sculptures simply reflected the stories of Buddhist literature.

The labours of that intrepid Hungarian scholar Cosma de Koros preceded by two decades the appearance of these catalogues which brought to light a large portion of the Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit works written in India on Buddhism in two grand divisions the *Kangyur* and the

Tangyur containing a collection of Buddha's sayings and sermons, commentaries on them and other miscellaneous works. It now became possible to trace some of these translations to their originals. Similarly the originals of some of the Chinese translations were also traceable. It opened a great vista of research which might engage generations of scholars for many centuries to come.

The publication of these two catalogues containing descriptions of old original works written in India in Sanskrit is of the highest moment in understanding the history and the doctrines of the form of Buddhism prevailing in Northern India from the 2nd century of the Nirvāṇa era to the present day. It also gave the public a good deal of information of all the stages of Buddhism in India from the 8th century A. D. when the Chinese ceased to come to the time when Buddhism became only a name in N. India. A good deal of the history of Buddhism from the 4th to the 7th centuries in India was known from the translations in European languages or the travels of the great Chinese travellers like Fa-hian, Hiuen Tsang, and I-tsing. But of the later centuries nobody knew anything. Indian people thought that Buddhism disappeared from the face of India after the advent of Śāṅkarācāryya about 800 A. D. But here was found undoubted evidence of Buddhism still flourishing in full vigour for four or five centuries more.

Soon after publishing his English catalogue of Cambridge Buddhist Mss., Prof. Bendall came to India and travelled to Nepal and Rajputana. He discovered a few Mss. and took immense materials for working out a history of Nepal and of Buddhism. The story of his meeting with me could read like a novel. He used to come to the Sanskrit College. I was also not remiss in visiting my *Alma Mater*. We often met without knowing each other. One day he wanted to see the Sanskrit College at Mulajore and Mr Mahesh Ch. Nyāyaratna took him there. I was also requested by the Mr. to be present at Mulajore. We three examined the

College and Prof. Bendall was shown all those things in which a European Sanskrit scholar was likely to be interested. The Mm. was then suffering from gout and Prof. Bendall was very anxious to see the indigenous tōls at Bhatpara. The Mm. therefore asked me to take Prof. Bendall with me and show him the tōls. We entered into a carriage and began to talk. Prof. Bendall complained that there was in India a very large number of Sanskrit scholars, but there were none who took interest in Buddhism. I asked him if he had any doubts and difficulties about Sanskrit Buddhism in which he was so much interested. He asked me a few general questions which I readily answered. Then he asked me if I could introduce him to Haraprasad Śāstrī who had been so well-spoken of by Raja R. L. Mitra. I told him that I could easily do it, but with a significant smile. In a few minutes I had to reveal myself to him and since then we were friends. He asked me where all that Buddhism has gone. I could give him no reply. But he would not leave me. For several years we were regular correspondents and the burden of every one of his letters was 'where was all that Buddhism gone'? I was already looking for traces of Buddhism all round me without success. I picked up every bit of information that I could of the former existence of Buddhism in Bengal. But I could not find where that Buddhism had gone till at last after nearly 13 years I found Buddhism still remaining as a living religion in western Bengal. This discovery was of very great moment for the social, intellectual, moral, and even the caste history of Bengal but that is another story. I am at present concerned only with Northern Buddhism and not the cryptic Buddhism which I have discovered in Western Bengal.

The publication of the catalogues by Raja R. L. Mitra and Prof. Bendall gave an impetus to Buddhist scholars both in India and Europe to publish Buddhist Sanskrit works. Raja R. L. Mitra published the *Lalitavistara* and the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

The first is on the life of Buddha and the second on the doctrines of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Prof. Bendall published the *Śikṣasamuccaya* a wonderful book. It is a summary of Buddhist doctrines with a vast number of authorities quoted in Sanskrit and various Sanskritic languages. M. Senart published the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* the earliest work yet known of the Northern Buddhism, written in a language which may be termed either Sanskritised vernacular or vernacularised Sanskrit, and which M. Senart called mixed Sanskrit. I contributed my mite in publishing the Svayambhū Purāṇa the only Purāṇa of the Buddhists, giving the topography of one of the most important places of pilgrimage in Nepal, with all its shrines and monasteries and stūpas. Profs. Cowell and Neil published the Divyāvadāna a collection of avadāna-stories written at various times and various places. There was also Kāraṇḍavyūha giving the marvellous achievements in emancipating people by Avalokiteśvara. It was published not as a Buddhist work but as a Jaina work in a series of Jaina canonical works published by Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī under the patronage of Raja Dhanapāl Sinha of the District of Murshidabad.

When the Svayambhū Purāṇa was printed off, I was anxious to identify the places and shrines, mentioned in that unique work, and therefore went to Nepal in 1897. I saw all the spots mentioned in the Purāṇa and all the rivers and cities in the valley of Nepal and made notes on them. But I found that Mr. Oldfield in his sketches of Nepal had already done much that I wanted to do. I might have given some more information and collated them with that given in the Purāṇa edited by me. But my interest was absorbed by the Durbar Library. There was a Durbar Library, perhaps more Durbar Libraries than one, as there were more than one independent kingdom in the small valley of Nepal. But the Libraries were dissipated on the Gorkha conquest of the Valley in 1768 and nobody knew where the Mss. of these Libraries were gone. In 1868 when I was still a school student in the Sanskrit College,

my attention was arrested by a small pamphlet published by Mr. R. Lawrence, Resident of Nepal, under the title "Lists of Sanskrit Works supposed by the Nepalese Pandits to be rare in the Nepalese Libraries at Khatmandu". That showed that there was at that time no Durbar Library. Prof. Bendall went there in 1884, shortly after we met at Mulajore and he did not see the Library. So the Durbar Library in 1897 appeared to me to be a discovery of the highest moment. I, at once, asked permission to visit the Library and work there. The permission was readily accorded by Sir Bir Samser Jung Rana the Prime Minister who took a great interest in the Mss. and in the Library. In fact, as I subsequently learnt, it was His Highness who put all the Mss. in the palaces and started the Library in the college premises and was doing everything to bring all Mss. in the Valley to the Library. He subsequently built a spacious hall with a clock tower where the Library is now kept.

After this discovery I spent all my time in the Ms. Library examining old palm-leaf manuscripts. The Library was then kept in the college premises to the south of Rani Pokra. I discovered some unique Mss. of very great age. My notes on these Mss. were embodied in a paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of that year under the title 'Notes on Mss. in the Durbar Library, Nepal.' When that paper was published, Prof. Sylvain Lévi of Paris came to Calcutta with a view to visit the Library himself. He remained at Katamundu for a month, and collected some Mss. and inscriptions. With these materials he published a history of Nepal and edited with a French translation the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* attributed to Asaṅga, which for the first time gave the world some definite idea of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism of the Yogācāra school. Within six months of Prof. Sylvain Lévi's departure from Nepal, Prof. Bendall was anxious to visit the same Library and arranged with the Secretary of State for India that I should accompany him and stop in Nepal for two months during the winter of 1898

and 1899. We remained in adjoining houses in the Residency and went every alternate day to the Library. His object was to write a history and chronology of Nepal and adjoining states and my object was to write a descriptive catalogue of the palm-leaf Mss. which are very old. Our joint work was issued in my name under the title of 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper-Mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal,' to which Prof. Bendall appended a history of Nepal and the surrounding countries. The catalogue was issued in 1905 before which time however Prof. Bendall had breathed his last. This catalogue brought to light the literature of many Śaiva and Buddhist sects which were all forgotten. The Tantric works in this catalogue are unique. The opinion that the Tantras were recent, not more than five centuries old, became absolutely untenable by the discovery of a large number of Tantric Mss. in the handwriting of the 10th century of the Christian era. The prevailing opinion in Europe was that the Purāṇas could not go back beyond 800 A. D. For this opinion Horace Hayman Wilson, I believe, is responsible. It was also believed that the Skanda Purāṇa was a myth and that it existed only in Khaṇḍas and Māhātmyas. But the discovery of a palm-leaf Ms. of that Purāṇa in later Gupta character at once made both these opinions untenable. Prof. Bendall was very unwilling to admit that the Ms. was so old, and we often talked on the subject and I maintained that the Ms. belonged to the 6th century and that the writing resembled that of the Horiuzi Ms. kept in the Horiuzi Monastery in Japan where it has been lying since 609 A. D. But Prof. Bendall could not admit that it was so old and stoutly maintained that it was written in the 9th century. Finding that we were quarrelling on these facts for several days Mr. Bendall one day told us both to bring all the materials on which we held our opinions and to decide the questions once for all. She very kindly consented to be our umpire. So one day we three sat on the verandah of the College Library and brought all the Mss., charts, and drawings and began to show them to Mrs. Bendall. Prof.

Bendall had a theory that a Ms. is old in the inverse ratio of the mātrās or the top lines of letters. I readily acceded to this theory. It was however found that Bendall's Ms. of the Pārameśvara-mata-tantra copied in 859 contained many more mātrās or top lines than the Skanda Purāṇa discovered by me. Prof. Bendall had to admit that the Skanda Purāṇa was at least two hundred years older than the Pārameśvara-mata-tantra i. e., the Skanda Purāṇa was written in 659 at the latest. The umpire gave her verdict in my favour. We worked from 11 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the verdict was passed and we all came well satisfied with our work. The antiquity of the Purāṇas was set back by several centuries and the discovery of the unique Ms. of the Skanda Purāṇa was regarded as a great event in the history of the Paurāṇic literature.

The 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. in the Durbar library of Nepal' has been pronounced by Mr. Jayswal in one of his letters to me as a wonderland. The publication of these catalogues and the editions of some very interesting works found in Nepal during our joint expedition took nearly ten years and in 1907 I went once more to Nepal to examine the rest of the Library. In the year 1906, the Nepal government sent to the Asiatic Society a list of Mss. recently acquired. In this list was a Ms. entitled Nyāya-vārttika which the Society thought must be a work by the great Buddhist logician Dinnāga. This excited my curiosity and I obtained permission to proceed to Nepal from the Govt. of Bengal and the Govt. of Nepal. But to my utter disappointment I found the Ms. to contain a portion of the Nyāya-vārttika by Udyotakara. But I took this opportunity to examine the rest of the palm-leaf Mss. and published on my return the second volume of the 'Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. of the Durbar Library, Nepal,' in 1915. This contains a very large number of Buddhist works on Tantra mostly written and copied before the Muhammadar conquest in Bengal. The Nepal Government having

absolutely prohibited the export of palm-leaf Mss. from the country since the re-establishment of the Durbar Library, I had to collect only paper Mss., either by purchase or by copying. During the expeditions of 1897-98 and 1907, a considerable number of Mss. was collected in the Asiatic Society's rooms, and the Society pressed me to publish a catalogue of these manuscripts. So in 1916, I published a volume of Catalogue of Buddhist manuscripts being the first volume of a large number of volumes, containing descriptions from all the Mss. collected there. It contained descriptions of 119 Mss. Like Prof. Bendall I was very careful in giving the post-colophon statements and the chapter headings. Like Rajendra Lal Mitra also I wanted to give some idea of the contents of the work, but this I did not by translating abstracts but by giving profuse abstracts which appeared to me to throw light on the doctrines of Buddhism and its history. There are works in the collection which are either not to be found among the Chinese or the Tibetan translations, or though found there, were considered to have been absolutely lost in Sanskrit.

I undertook a fourth journey to Nepal in the year 1922 and found Prof. Sylvain Lévi there. I confined myself to the examination of the Sanskrit Library and took extracts from rare Mss. already described in my catalogues. My son Benoytosh Bhattacharyya who was with me busied himself in taking photographs of Buddhist images in different viharas for his forthcoming volume on Buddhist iconography. Thus it will be seen that in the matter of the collection of Northern Buddhist Mss. Brian Hodgson began it and I have carried it on up to now. The Ms. materials have not yet been exhausted and the report has it that the Sanskrit Buddhist Mss. may be had in large numbers in Tibet and Eastern China. These are the best materials for the study of Northern Buddhism. The Tibetan and the Chinese translations come next after them, but the value of the Sanskrit materials is much greater than that of these translations. Sanskrit materials are coming out also from

other parts of India ; for instance, the Kathiwar Jaina Library has already furnished the texts and commentaries of the Nyāya Vindu by Dharmottara. The Nyāyapraveśa of Dinnāga has also been found there and the Gaikwar Sanskrit Series has undertaken to publish it. Mm. Ganapati Śāstrī is also publishing a Buddhist Tantrik work entitled Ārya Mañjuśrī Sūtra Kalpa and I know other collections in Bengal and Benares containing Mss. of works on Northern Buddhism. In the 'Catalogue of the Tanjore collection of Tibetan translations' published by Beekh and the two volumes of the catalogues of the Tangyur collection published by my late lamented friend Dr. P. Cordier, as well as in the Catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka by Nanjio, we hear of thousands of Sanskrit Buddhist works belonging to the Northern schools of Buddhism. Of these only a very small number has been found in Sanskrit. But the Sanskrit Mss. are much more valuable than the translation. For the Chinese is a free translation, often wide from the text and the Tibetan is so absolutely literal that it is difficult to understand for one who is not a master of both the ancient Tibetan and Sanskrit. That being the case it is very difficult to write a history of Northern Buddhism from Sanskrit materials alone. But I have had the good fortune of receiving much of my information from Indrānanda the great grandson of Amṛtānanda, Hodgson's friend, philosopher, and guide. He often gave me light on the history of Buddhism which I found nowhere in printed books and Mss. But he is no more, and Buddhist scholars are becoming more and more rare in Nepal. With this preamble I now begin to give a connected history of Northern Buddhism from the second century of the Nirvāṇa era to the present day. I am fully conscious of my shortcomings and know that there are many gaps which I cannot fill up. Still I think connected history with all its shortcomings is likely to be useful to the readers.

(To be continued)

HARAPRASAD ŚĀSTRĪ

Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

At the Second Session of the Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in 1922 (*Proc. and Trans.*, 1923, pp. 193f), Mr. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi announced the discovery of two manuscripts containing the texts of an hitherto unknown *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* in prose and its metrical summary *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra*, which, in his opinion, threw fresh light on the date and mutual relation of Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjūṇya* and Daṇḍin, author of the *Doṣa-kumāra-carita*. He has since, under the editorship of Pandit S. K. Rāmanātha Śāstrī, has published these two interesting works in the Dakṣiṇabhārati Series, No. 3 (1924) with an introduction which practically reproduces his article on the subject referred to above.

Of these two works, the *Avanti-sundarī kathā* is in prose with an introduction in verse but is published as a much broken fragment consisting of 18 or 19 hopelessly worm-eaten leaves, which occupy about 25 pages in print. It conforms to the technical requirements of a *kathā*, not as indicated by the author of the *Kāvya-larṣa* but as given by Rudraṭa¹; but it is curious that it contains, after the manner of an *ākhyāyikā*², an introductory metrical *namaskriyā* and praise of older poets, followed in the prose part, at the outset, by an account of the poet's family and of his motive in composing the work. From this prose part of the work it is, however, difficult to gather connected information about the author himself, on account of the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the fragmentary text, which contains large lacunae in almost every third line.

1 See my article on *The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, pp. 508f, 514f, 517.

2 As in Baṇa's *Haruṣa-carita*.

But these autobiographical details regarding the author are rendered intelligible by the incomplete metrical summary published along with it and entitled *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra*. It is apparently of a different and much later authorship.

The *Kathā-sāra* gives the name of the author, presumably of the original story, as Daṇḍin, and sets forth his genealogy and a somewhat fanciful account of the origin of the work. We are told that a family of Kausika Brāhmanas, who were living in a north-western province, named Ānandapura, migrated to Acalapura in the Nāsikya country, founded by Mūladeva (*mūladeva-nivesita*). There was born Dāmodara from Nārāyaṇa-svāmin, like Ādideva springing from the navel of Nārāyaṇa¹. Referring to Dāmodara, it goes on to say (i. 22) :

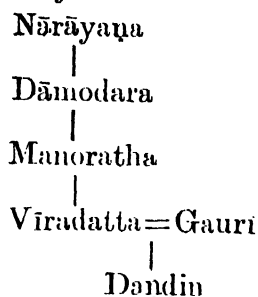
*sa medhāvī kavir mūlvān bhāravih prabhavo girām
anurudhyākaron maistrīm utrendre viṣṇuvardhane*

Then we are told that while living with Durvinīta (who is called *gāṅgeya-kula-dhoroja*, apparently a prince of the Gāṅgā dynasty), he sent an *ārṇa*-verse to the Pallava king Siṃha-*viṣṇu*, who invited him to his court, where Dāmodara appears to have thenceforth lived. He had three sons, of whom Manoratha was the second. Of Manoratha's four sons Vīradatta married Claurī, and a son named Daṇḍin, who is the narrator of the story, was born to them. Then the story goes on to give us some account of Daṇḍin who was fostered by Śruta and Sarasvatī, having been rendered orphan in his childhood ; and he was well versed, among other things, in the science of architecture. We are not concerned at present with this part of the account.

These details agree substantially with what one can gather from the fragmentary prose narrative. Mention is made of Acalapura and *kuśika-vamśa*, of Dāmodara being born of Nārāyaṇa-svāmin, of Dāmodara's friendship with Viṣṇuvardhana

¹ *Tasyām nārāyaṇasvāmi-nāmnō nārāyaṇōdarāt.
dāmodarḥ iti śrīman ādideva ivābhavat.* (i. 21.)

and so forth. Now, from these we get the genealogy of Daṇḍin who according to the °*Kathā* and the °*Kathā-sāra* was the narrator of the story of Avantisundarī thus :



We will try to deal in another paper with the question whether this Daṇḍin is the same as the author of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, and whether the prototype of the latter work is this newly discovered *Avantisundarī-kathā* ; but assuming for the present that the two Daṇḍins are identical, our main concern in this paper is to consider the statement of Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi that the two texts published here establish that Daṇḍin was the great-grandson in the direct line of the poet Bhāravi. If this opinion can be taken as beyond question, it would prove to be a fact of immense importance in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Unfortunately the published texts have not succeeded in removing all doubts and settling the question definitely. The only place where Bhāravi is mentioned is in the verse quoted above from the °*Kathā-sāra*, with reference to Dāmodara who is given as the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin and the whole statement regarding Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāravi stands or falls with this verse alone. The interpretation given to this verse by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi is presumably that Bhāravi is spoken of here as identical with Dāmodara, whose alternative name or alias was such, although it is curious that there is no direct suggestion of such an alias but for the apparently appositional use (assuming the text to be unobjectionable) of the word *Bhāravi*, used as a proper name, along with *saḥ* (he) referring to Dāmodara. But the construction

is somewhat peculiar, and one cannot reconcile himself to the abruptness with which Dāmodara is mentioned in the verse as Bhāravi without some words indicating his identification, if it is so intended, with the great Bhāravi of the *Kirātārjunīya*. Is it possible that some qualifying adjective, such as *medhāvi* etc. immediately preceding it, is meant in or for this word? Or, is some pun or simile meant in *bhā*, *ravi* or *ravi-prabhava* which would explain the word *anurudhya* better in the context? An emendation is difficult, but the word *bhāravi* in the verse does not look very convincing. It is possible that Dāmodara had the *biruda* of Bhāravi; but if one assumes that the name of the great poet of *Kirātārjunīya* was itself a *biruda*, his real name having been Dāmodara, one would not be supported either by Sanskrit literature so far, or by any tradition authenticating such speculation regarding the well-known poet Bhāravi¹.

On the other hand, assuming the verse in question to be impeccable, it is somewhat disconcerting to find nothing in the original prose *Avantisundarī-kathā* itself to support this reading or this proposed identification of Bhāravi with Dāmodara, the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin. The passage in the prose-narrative corresponding to this verse in the metrical summary runs thus (p. 6) :

(nā)rāyaṇa-svāmīno nābhi-padma iva brahmaika dhāma
dāmodara-svāmi-nāmā tameta (?).....sarvāṅga-manoharayā
sarvajñayā vidyadhayā sarva-bhāṣā-praviṇayā pramāṇa-yuktayā
lalita-pada-viṇyāsa.....sneham asvajyata.

Again,

yataḥ kauśi(ka).....va puṇya-karmāṇi viṣṇuvaradhan-
ikhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anubadhnāt².

1 A poet Dāmodara, Dāmodarabhaṭṭa or Dāmodaradeva is quoted independently of Bhāravi, in the anthologies *Sārṅgadharā-paddhati*, *Saṅkṣipta-karṇāmṛta*, *Padyāvalī* as well as in *Bhoja-prabandha*.

2 In these quotations, the dots, indicating lacunae, are given as in the printed text.

Dāmodara is mentioned again at p. 7, but his other and more famous name (if it was so) viz., Bhāravi, is nowhere alluded to or coupled with his real name. On the other hand, in the metrical introduction (p. 3, verse 22) of the prose-story, the author refers apparently to himself as *dāmodara-vaṃśaja* and not as *bhāravi-vaṃśaja* which would certainly have served as a better introduction of himself to his public. If he was really a descendant of the great poet Bhāravi, he should have been naturally proud of his illustrious literary lineage and would have taken enough care to apprise his reader of the fact. It is surely too much to rely upon a doubtful verse of a later summary of presumably different authorship and theorise on its basis upon the relation of Bhāravi and Daṣḍin with any complacent assurance. It is not suggested that the genealogy of Daṣḍin, the author or narrator of the *Avantisundarī-kathā*, as given here is unreliable; but one cannot readily accept the relationship of this Daṣḍin (whoever he was) with Bhāravi sought to be made out on the authority of this verse alone. On the other hand, the probable date of Bhāravi, who was certainly later than Kālidāsa but earlier than the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. in which he already appears as famous, would roughly coincide with that of Siṃhaviṣṇu of the Pallava dynasty, who may be taken as belonging to the end of the 5th century; and the mention of this prince in this connexion in the text would make one pause before he can sweepingly reject the theory set forth by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi. All that can be said for the present is that the theory cannot be taken as settled or beyond question until other data are forthcoming to corroborate this unique verse, which is itself of doubtful authority.

Apart from this question of literary chronology, however, there can be no doubt that these works are important publications, for which the learned editors deserve all credit, even though it is a great pity that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* could not be recovered except as a hopeless mass of fragments.

These works are of great interest in view of the question of their relation to the *Dāśa-kumāra-carita* and its author Daṇḍin; which question, however, would require a detailed study and cannot be discussed within the limited scope of this paper.

S. K. DE

Some Aspects of the Economic Life in Ancient India (AS DEPICTED IN THE RĠVEDA)

In this article we propose to deal with some obscure points in regard to the economic life of the early Indo-Aryans which have not been attempted to be studied so far. The development of agriculture, art, and crafts has been studied by some scholars. Here we shall study something about the trade and commerce of the people of the time and about the units of measurement and exchange as used by them.

I Trade and Commerce

Trade of course existed in the period of the Rġveda but the villages being more or less self-contained units, and the wants of the people being limited, it was naturally confined within narrow limits. *Kraya* is the word for exchange in the later Saṃhitās, derived from the root *krī*, to buy. In the Rġveda we find the use of this root only on a few occasions¹. Ordinarily sale and purchase constituted exchange of things only. Barter was the normal system and no popular medium of exchange as such existed. Indra is offered libations in exchange for ten milch

king¹. From this some have concluded that cattle formed the medium of exchange. But the use of the word does not seem to justify such an assumption.

Human nature being what it is, the attempt on the part of the parties to depress the exchange value of the commodities of others must have been the same. The higgling and bargaining of the market was known in those early days. Even as it is to day, an exchange transaction was complete and irrevocable as soon as it was arranged and delivery of things made over. This is clearly indicated in a hymn to Indra by Ṛṣi Vāmadeva². A man realised a small value for an article of great value, *bhūgyasū vasmam acarat kanīyas*, that is, by (giving up) much a man acquired (in exchange) a little wealth or value. Coming again to the buyer he said : this has not been sold ; I want the full price. But he does not recover the small price by getting a large equivalent now ; whether helpless or clever they adhere to their bargain. *Vasna* in this passage clearly means price. But *śulka* was the usual word for price. Thus Indra's image is so dear that it would not be sold even for a large *śulka*³. The idea of price also underlies another verse where the sacrificer and his wife, by their praises, confer strength on Indra and Varuna to receive, for this price, great wealth from the gods⁴.

The merchant went by the name of *vaṇik*, and his position was distinctly inferior to that of the other important classes in society. Dīrghasravas is called a *vaṇik*, and as such he has been distinguished from the other descendants of the same line as his, who were all ṛṣis, simply because, according to the legend, he was compelled to live by trade during a period of famine⁵. The merchant is referred to as going to the wood and obtaining water. *vaṇig vankur āpā puriṣam*⁶.

1 iv, 24, 10. 2 iv, 24, 9. 3 viii, 1, 5. 4 vii, 82, 6. 5 i, 112, 11.
6 v, 45, 6.

of the conquest of England. Even during the period just following the Norman Conquest we do not hear anything about weights, although otherwise, particularly in political and administrative matters, they were well developed.

Measures of distance, on the other hand, grew at a very early stage. Distance is the most familiar conception in the life of a people, especially during the periods of migration. One day's march or a few days' march would readily become a sort of measure. When settled in a locality this conception helps equally well. The distance from one village to another, from one end of the field to the other, all begin with certain indefiniteness, but all tend ultimately to crystallise into definite measures of distance, suiting, for all practical purposes, the habits of thought of a primitive people. The Aryans in the Vedic age also had such conceptions of distance as measures. *Gavyuti* is frequently found in the R̥gveda. Its meaning has been the subject of some discussion leading to differences of opinion. But in one passage it clearly indicates a distance, although what exactly it is cannot be ascertained. Agni is asked to drive away further than a *gavyuti* from the devotee, poverty, hunger, and the strong demons¹. Most probably it signified an indefinite and very long distance, since one would like to be as far away as possible from these evils. In the *Brāhmaṇas* also the word was recognised as a measure of distance.

On the other hand *yojana* was definitely a measure of distance. It means the distance which can be covered by one ride, that is, what can be traversed at one stretch without unyoking the horses. Thus the Dawn is said to precede Varuṇa (here identified with Sun) by thirty *yojanas*². With fast horses Indra can traverse many *yojanas* at one stretch³. The Maruts are described as swift-moving like rivers and as having traversed many *yojanas* like mares who have journeyed far⁴.

For purposes of trade and exchange it is essential that some standard should be devised by which comparisons can be made. If measure by weight was unknown at so early a date the people had to substitute for it a measure by volume. This was essential for even the elements of economic and social life. The Soma sacrifice was the great occasion in those days when the communal life was focussed and represented, and it is in this connection that we hear of a measure by volume. *Khāri* was a jar which measured the quantity of the soma juice. Indra asked to give a hundred *khāris* of soma juice¹. Of the measures in ordinary life we have several of them. *Ūrdara*² was either such a measure or it was a granary. In either case it could broadly compare one heap of grains with another. *Sthivi* also occurs in the *R̥gveda*³ with the same meaning. It occurs also in its adjectival form *sthivimant*⁴. That they helped measurement is certain, but it is equally certain that measurement by volume, like measurement by distance, was crude. This only shows an imperfect growth of the elements of retail trading.

In the period of the *R̥gveda*, barter was the form of exchange, and there had not as yet arisen any need for a medium of exchange. In one passage⁵ suspicion is raised about its existence, where R̥ṣi Kakṣivāt speaks of having received a hundred *nīṣkas*, *nīṣka* being a golden necklace. So many *nīṣkas* could not have been used by one for personal adornment. It must have served the purpose of getting other things of life. Still we cannot say that it was the usual currency because its mention is so rare, and because its value could not be consistent with its use as a popular medium of exchange. Here also we cannot be positive as we do not know the value of gold in comparison with that of other commodities as determined by exchange. The safe course would, therefore, be to admit *nīṣka* as having been a medium of exchange in the period of the

1 iv, 32, 17. 2 ii, 14, 11. 3 x, 68, 3. 4 x, 17, 5. 5 i, 126, 2.

Rigveda and to restrict its use to rare occasions or within a limited circle owing to the very rare occurrence of the word as such medium and to its probably too high value.

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA BASU

The Aryan Rule of India

It has been assumed, and the assumption has long passed into an axiom of Indian history, that Aryans, after first conquering a part of Northern India, close to the Western frontier, gradually extended their conquests to the whole of India, and held regal sway over their conquests, until general unsettlements of power led to changes within comparatively recent times.

We know that during what is known as the Hindu period, which covered many centuries following the Vedic times, India comprised a large number of kingdoms, and for the greater length of that period, the thrones of all these or nearly all were filled by princes of the two royal houses of the Sun and the Moon. After Paraśu Rāma arose as a great military hero, he led a colony of Brāhmaṇas into the Western littoral, and there founded the dynasty of Agni-kula, so called apparently after his patronymic, the name of his father being Jamad-Agni. These three houses—the first two as the ancient, the third as the later in date—were the recognised royal houses in India (others which were impermanent being not counted), and Indian princes, even at the present day, generally trace their descent to one or another of these houses.

If these dynasties were Aryan, then it would follow that the rule of post-Vedic India was Aryan, and the axiom referred to above should be accepted as sound. But were they Aryan? It seems to me that the question has yet to be answered.

There seems to be some confusion of thought with regard to the inter-relation of the terms Aryan, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya etc. The prevalent idea is found to be that Aryan is the generic term denoting race, and that Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. are specific terms denoting sub-divisions of that particular race; in other words, the terms Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. necessarily imply Aryan descent. I can see no justification for this idea. That Aryan society in India was divided into four orders is a well-known historical fact; but it is equally the fact that the names of the four orders seem to have carried no racial significance, and to have been used in a general sense of professions or social grades, which under the same names would have been true of any community. Thus Pulastya was the progenitor of the Rākṣasa royal family of Ceylon, and was presumably himself a Rākṣasa or Dravidian; but he was a priest, and therefore a true Brāhmaṇa. When Viśvūmitra was a ruling prince, he was necessarily a Kṣatriya; but later he changed into a priest, and then he was a Brāhmaṇa; of his sons a good many turned out to be Dasyus, a term which in the language of the Aryans themselves, meant aliens to their race. There were Kṣatriyas among the Aryans; so there were among the Seythians on the North, the Chinese on the East, the Tamils on the South, and the Yavanas (Greeks plus any other nationalities) on the West. Clearly then a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya was not on that account an Aryan; he may have been of any race.

In the view of the Aryans, the question of race was very simple; all humanity consisted of two divisions; the first division included the four classes of Aryan society; the second the Dasyus who were all the rest of mankind alien to the Aryans. The distinction is thus authoritatively drawn by Manu (X 45):—

Mukheṣṭāḥrupajjānām
Yā loke jātayo lahiḥ
Mlecchavācas cāryavācas
Sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛtāḥ.

"Whatever races be in the world outside those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahmā), they all, whether speaking the language of the barbarians, or speaking the language of the Āryas, are known in law as Dasyus".

The 'Āryas' were the people whom we are speaking of as the Aryans.

The definition of Manu is clear, precise, and emphatic. According to it, the supreme test of Aryan race is descent from Brahmā in one of the four ways mentioned. This may sound mythical; but it ceases to be mythical and becomes the basis of sound history, once the society has fallen into groups on that idea, and the tradition of the descent running in the four orders of society has become the hall-mark of the race; for whether the hall-mark had its origin in fact or fancy, it serves this practical purpose: that it racially differentiates those bearing the hall-mark from those not. Hence, if the attested pedigree of a family shows descent different from the four ways of the Aryans, that family is devoid of this hall-mark and is therefore Dasyu or non-Aryan. There may be other evidences, such as those of modern science, leading up to a decision; but considering that Manu's dictum, whatever be its mythical basis, ought to have been sound as a criterion from the very beginning of society and must always prevail; those modern evidences can only be corroborative and never contradictory of its finding. With the ground so cleared, we will now proceed to enquire whether the three royal houses of India were really Aryan in origin.

We will begin with the house which was descended from an admitted Brāhmaṇa sage Jamad-Agni. This holy man was the descendant of Bhṛgu, and Bhṛgu's son Śukra was the great preceptor of the Asuras, who were non-Aryans and always enemies of the Āryas, potential if not always actual. The early history of the family therefore was on the non-Aryan or native side; and when we look into the origin of Bhṛgu himself, we find that his son, the pre-

ceptor of the Asuras, was rightly where he should have been on the side of his blood. For Bhrgu was not born from the mouth of Brahmā, as an Aryan priest should have been ; he simply sprang from the skin of Brahmā, along with flames, whence perhaps the beginning of the Agni connection. Whatever the legend of his birth may stand for, it is clear in the light of Manu's dictum that he was not an Aryan. Moreover, between the Brāhmaṇas of his clan, the colonists of Paraśu Rāma, who are said to be known as Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas, and the Brāhmaṇas of Northern India, who go upon their own traditions, it is said that there is absolutely no bond of community. So far, then, we have evidence direct and presumptive that the Agni-kula was non-Aryan, or by a comprehensive term applicable in the case, Dravidian. Is there any evidence to the contrary ?

We now come to the Lunar Race. The first real conflict between the Aryans who have somehow found their way into India, and having secured a foot-hold, were showing a disposition to acquire more room for expansion, appears in the resistance offered by Śambara, the king of the Asuras. This Dravidian prince, backed as he was by endless odds available against limited numbers, was apparently too powerful in the field for Divodāsa, the leader of the Aryans, and a curious thing happens : the great Dravidian prince allows himself to be rolled down the side of a precipice and killed. That he was surprised is plain ; but was it in actual warfare, or under circumstances where he had no occasion for suspicion ? Whatever may have been the true character of the surprise, it was a good stroke of business on the part of the Aryans. The forts of Śambara were destroyed, and his forces, disheartened by the fall of their chief, were scattered ; and no doubt the Aryans reaped advantages which must have stood them in good stead for a good long time to come. This closes the first stage of the Aryan advance. The struggle with the native princes, however, had only commenced, and here we may remark that Śambara had left a number of brothers, two of

whom (in the Aryan translation of their names) were Sūrya and Candramas, or Sun and Moon.

What length of time may have passed before we witness the next stage of the struggle, we cannot say. The Aryans had slowly but steadily pushed their way forward south-by-east, fighting, as we may suppose, every inch of ground, and adding a few stadia to their Dominion every year, until they found themselves on the northern bank of the river Sarasvatī, where they settled down and consolidated their position. Their main strength lay in the warlike tribe of Tr̥tsus, whose chief, Sudās a descendant of Divodāsa was now their leader. Sudās was a good general and a man of foresight; and seeing the disadvantage of paucity of numbers as compared with the strength of the foe he strengthened himself by making alliances with warlike tribes outside the Indian frontier, such as the Persians and the Medes. In the meantime the native princes were also seeing the value of concerted action, and Kutsa the chief of the Pūrus was able to take the field at the head of a powerful confederation of ten princes with their tribal levies. The allied army, intending to march to the Sarasvatī, collected on the northern bank of the Paruṣṇī (modern Ravi); but the watchful Sudās, who had knowledge of the movement, had gathered his foreign allies, and not waiting to be attacked on a matured plan, boldly marched forward and appeared on the southern bank of the Paruṣṇī. To that extent he had surprised the enemy and upset their arrangements; but a fierce battle ensued and both sides fought with grim determination. Both sides claimed the victory, but the truth seems to be that on both sides there was much crossing of the river for attacks and counter-attacks, and both sides suffered heavily. The moral effect, however, went in favour of the intrepid leader of the Tr̥tsus; for on returning to his settlement, he found that he could now take a forward step, and crossing the Sarasvatī, he occupied the fertile tract of country between that river and the Dṛṣadvatī. This was a momentous acquisition; it became the premier settlement of the Brāhmaṇas

of the horde, and under the name of *Brahmāvarta*, became famous thenceforward as the centre of Aryan tradition and Aryan influence. But it was the last achievement of the Aryans as a military people, culminating in a triumph ; their armed career now comes to a close.

For, when next history re-opens to our view, it is no longer the strife between the foreign Aryans and the native Dravidians, but the peaceful amalgamation of the two races under the beneficent rule of *Trasadasyu* the prince of the *Pūrus*. *Trasa-dasyu* was undoubtedly the greatest statesman in the early epoch of Indian History. A gifted man and a brave soldier, he was at the same time a most benevolent and amiable prince ; and he had made himself so acceptable to both his own race and to the Aryans, that the two erstwhile enemy-peoples had chosen to come under a single supreme government of which he was to be the head as their *Samrāt* or Emperor. His position in *Brahmāvarta* now was somewhat analogous to that of James I in England ; and following the analogy, we are tempted to suppose that he inherited both his blood and his united sovereignty by descent from both sides. But no. He was the son whom the gods have given to *Purukutsānī* (Lady *Puru-kutsa*) to console her husband for his want of success in his great undertaking against the Aryans ; and *Puru-kutsa* was a native prince. By the Aryans, the Emperor was spoken of in eulogistic terms as their friend and ally, which, while showing the firm bond of union that was between the two races, and the tendencies which were developing under him for the eventual Aryanization of the whole of India, also goes to show that the Emperor was their master not by race but by adoption. According to later accounts, the royal house supreme in this part of the country, was *Candra Varṇsa* ; and there too the first king had *Pūru* in his name : *Purūravas* (formed from *Pūru* and *ravas*). He was descended from *Candra*, who is represented to us as the god of the Moon. From the historical associations we have so far pursued, it seems reasonable to

give the story a human interpretation and to see in the god of the Moon the Prince Candramas, the brother of Śambara. It was their clan that was in the forefront in the first great opposition to the Aryan advance. Later on, Puru-kutsa appears on the scene filling the great place of Śambara as the leading opponent. Was he the tribal successor? Evidently he was. And what is more, he was in all probability the son of Candramas the prince and if so, the Budha of the celestial account. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Candra Vamśa with the dynasty founded by Trasa-dasyu, a member of the native tribe of the Pūrus. It was therefore Dravidian. And independently, it seems to have been of that branch of the Dravidian race which was known as the Nāgas. One of the earliest princes of the house was Nahuṣa, a great king. Owing to an unhappy accident, he fell from his high state, and then he became a serpent. The meaning seems plain : shorn of his glory, he became a mere Nāga.

If we take the celestial origin of the house, we have necessarily to apply Manu's canon, and we again arrive at the same result that the house was Dravidian. For the Moon-god, the progenitor of the race, had not his descent from Brahmā in any one of the four ways of Aryan society, and his Indian descendants were therefore Dasyus. In this connection, it is remarkable that the name of the first Emperor was Trasa-dasyu, which, whatever Aryan expositors might say by a laboured construction, seems to mean "Dasyu the Mobile" *i. e.* a Dasyu ever in motion, which he was expected to be, considering the times of commotion and the position of command to which he was born.

In this connection, it may be here mentioned as a relevant fact that Kṛṣṇa, the best representative of the Lunar race, was a very dark person, and a skin so decidedly dark and in that early age, would, in the case of an Aryan, have been an impossibility.

Lastly we come to the race of the Sun. The earthly

ancestor of this race was Manu VII, and according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, he was Draviḍeśvara, i.e. Chief of the Draviḍas. This connects him with the Draviḍas, either as an alien who had become their ruler, or, far more probably, as the most prominent member of the race with position of command. Which of the two remains to be ascertained by other evidence.

Now, the typical Dravidian is dark in colour, and in the full vigour of manhood, his eyes are red. What is the portraiture we see in the Rāmāyaṇa of the personal appearance of Rāma the flower of the Solar Race? The colour of his skin was that of the blue lily, and his eyes were of the same hue as the petals of the red lotus. Making due allowance for poetic embellishment, we have yet here in the main outline a true picture of the typical Tamil.

Again, among the Aryans, marriage was governed by certain stringent rules, and from peasant to king none dared to flout them for fear not only of legal punishment, but worse still, of social infamy and degradation worse than death. But among the Kṣatriyas of the Solar Race (here we confine ourselves to that race) what marriage customs do we find as being quite in order? We will mention only one as an illustration. Among the Aryans, union with one's wife's sister was incest; among these Kṣatriyas, it was a natural and most desirable domestic tie. And from the earliest times, the custom has been Dravidian.

Finally we apply Manu's canon. The Solar Race had its origin in Sūrya, and whether Sūrya was the Sun-god or Śambara's brother of that name, he too, like Candra, had not the same descent as any section of the Aryans. In mythology, he and Candra may differ among themselves in origin. But that is a question which has no bearing here; the point is that Sūrya was not an Aryan by descent, and therefore his Indian descendants could not be Aryans. Now we see the meaning of the statement in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that Manu VII was Draviḍeśvara: he was the

chief of the Draviḍas not only as their sovereign, but also as the noblest born of the race.

All this leads us to the question : "Where comes in the Aryan rule of India, which so largely colours and indeed forms the main background of all modern ideas of Indian history ?" There is no denying the fact that the Aryans made India a great country ; but it seems equally undeniable that they never ruled the land, but that dominion always rested with the native princes, who, with their tribes, were Aryanized indeed, but were none the less of Dravidian stock. The idea of Aryan rule arose with the European *savants*, and from its scientific importance seems well worth a review. My remarks are intended to show that there is a case for investigation, and I invite discussion.

W. F. GUNAWARDHANA

Message From Barhut Jataka Labels

The Barhut railing has a fairly large number of inscriptions serving as labels for the artistic illustrations of its tale. These illustrations consist of carvings or bas-reliefs depicting various scenes from Buddha's life, past and present. The underlying scheme is two-fold : doctrinal and biographical. The biographical details are introduced only by way of an illustration of the Buddhist doctrine inculcating the equality of all the Buddhas, so that the incidents of the life of one Buddha are virtually the same as those of the life of any other Buddha. According to this doctrine, the evolution of the Buddha types of human personality is the outcome of a natural process, which is reducible into a determinate causal

order. In the tradition of the time, the legends of seven Buddhas were well known. This doctrinal scheme with some of the biographical details is laid down in the famous Mahāpadāna discourse of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The labels attached to representations of Bodhi-trees of seven Buddhas, including the missing one referring to the Bodhi-tree of Śikhi, are as follows :—

- “The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Vipasēit.”
- “Śāla the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛt.”
- “The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śikhi.”
- “The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kakutsandha.”
- “The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Koṇāgamana.”
- “The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kāśyapa.”
- “The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śākyaṃuni.”

Here the Bodhi-tree referred to in each label not only stands as an artistic symbol of the enlightenment of a Buddha but may be taken to symbolise his whole career. The epithet Bhagavā prefixed to the name of each Buddha and rendered ‘Divine Master’ is resplendent with the Hindu or Bhāgavatic idea of divinity. Of the names of the Buddhas adopted in these labels, some, such as Koṇāgamana and Kakusandha, correspond to those in Pāli ; some, such as Vipasīno (genitive form) correspond to those in Buddhist-Sanskrit works ; some, such as Vesabhūso (genitive form), are peculiar to Barhut tradition ; and some, such as Kāsapa and Sākamuni, are common to all traditions. Comparing and contrasting these various forms of the names one cannot help thinking that the source of the Barhut tradition was neither exclusively Pāli nor exclusively one identical with any one of the known Buddhist-Sanskrit works. The source must have been an independent one, though not without some common points with other traditions. The Barhut tradition, so far as it can be tested in the light of the Mahāpadāna discourse, is yet in a stage when the lives of the previous Buddhas were not linked up by the chain of existences running through the Bodhi-sattva-career of Buddha Gautama.

As for the life-history of Buddha Śākyamuni there are several scenes, to some of which more labels than one are attached. To begin with, one has to note a solemn scene of supplication of various deities to the Bodhisattva, then born as the male god Santosita, to be reborn on the earth for the opening of the gate of immortality to all. There are three separate labels referring to different classes of deities according to their seats in the assembly :—

“The Rūpabrahma deities of Pure Abodes on the eastern side”.

“The three classes of all-pervading Rūpabrahma deities on the northern side”.

“The six thousand Kāmāvacara gods of six lower heavens on the southern side”.

Just below this is a scene of forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth characterised by the charming music of the gods. It indicated that the Bodhisattva has, after much deliberation, given his word to the joy of all. To this scene are annexed some five separate labels, the remaining four recording the names of four heavenly nymphs or dancers :—

“The jovial and ravishing music of gods”.

“Alambuṣā—the heavenly dancer”.

“Miśrakeśī—the heavenly dancer”.

“Padmāvatī—the heavenly dancer”.

“Subhadrā—the heavenly dancer”.

The third scene is that of Queen Māyā's dream, aptly described in the label as—

“The Divine Being's Descent”.

Next to this notice is a grand scene in the palace of Śuddhodana, of an assembly of the gods making obeisance to the newly born Bodhisattva and announcing the inception of Buddhism as will appear from the following label—

“The angel Arhaḍgupta announces the inception
of the Divine Master's system”.

This naturally leads the observer to a continuous scene of the great renunciation, where the Bodhisattva Prince

Siddhārtha runs away from his father's place on horse-back, protected by the angels with Arhadv Gupta at their head. The attached label simply records the name of the head angel—

“Arhadv Gupta”.

After this is to be noted the beautiful scene of the Prince's self-initiation into asceticism, followed by a great festival of the gods signalling the enshrinement of his head-dress and tuft of hair. The three annexed labels can be rendered together as follows —

“The ceremonial enshrinement of the Divine Being's hair-tuft in Sudharmā, the celestial council-hall, attached to the Mansion of Victory”.

Now one must take note of two separate scenes, one in which the angels of the Rūpabrahmaloka have come down on the back of elephants to congratulate the Bodhisattva on his victory over the hosts of Māra, and the other in which Buddha attains enlightenment. Each scene bears an inscription appropriate to it :

“The Brahma god.”

“The enlightenment of the Divine Master Śākyamuni.” The Buddhahood marked the turning point in the life of the noble Śākya prince, while with the proclamation of the truths in Benares he came to be known as the unrivalled Teacher. Accordingly there is a scene of the first sermon, labelled by the inscription —

“The Dharmacakra of the Divine Teacher.”

The conversion of three colonies of Vedic ascetics at Gaya was a notable incident, as it served to increase his fame as a powerful personality. Thus one need not be surprised that there should be a distinct scene depicting this incident, indexed by the label—

“The assembly of the Jātīlas.”

The followers of the Buddha were yet living a wandering life of recluses of the time. The monastic life, marked by settled habits, could begin only when the kings and traders

and rich bankers made over royal parks for their permanent residence. The most important of these parks was the Jetavana in the suburb of Śrāvastī purchased by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika. The scene of dedication of this park by the banker bears the following label incised in bold letters—

“Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Prince Jeta’s park, purchased with a layer of crores.”

A serious misunderstanding among the bhikṣus at Kauśāmbī endangering the unity and future interest of the Brotherhood led the Master to go away alone to a woodland where he spent a rainy season being waited upon by the Pārileya elephant. Though the scene is missing, the following label survives to indicate its inclusion in the Barhut scheme—

“Pārileya—the woodland resort.”

Another notable scene is that of king Ajātaśatru’s interview with the Buddha, apparently based upon an account similar to that in the Śamaññaphala-Sutta of the Digha-Nikāya. The king kneels before the Master’s seat as an act of obeisance, in the midst of a troop of amazonian guards, all mounted on the back of elephants. The label appropriately recording this scene is—

“Ajātaśatru bows down to the Divine Master.”

Finally one must take notice of two important scenes, the first one being the pathetic scene of the last interview of king Prasenajit of Kośala with the Master, and the second one being that of king Viḍudabha’s or Virūdhaka’s march towards Kapilavastu. The second scene represents the sudden arrest of the march by a timely intervention of the Master, while the label attached to it records the determination of the Śākya to take the utmost risk to maintain their non-violent attitude. Now note what the labels themselves are :—

“King Prasenajit of Kośala.”

“Even if they die.”

These two incidents happened in the last year of Buddha’s life. But there are several other scenes representing various intermediate episodes, which cannot be chronologically

arranged. In all these scenes, based upon distinct stories on legends, the interlocutors and worshippers are some super-human or infra-human beings—gods, goddesses, nāgas yakṣas, and yakṣiṇīs.

In the first instance one may note the curious scene of Indrasāla or Indrasāila cave, where Śakra, the king of gods, put questions to the Buddha and praised him for his unsurpassed wisdom. The story is based upon the legend in the Sakkapañha-sutta. The annexed label records the name of—
“The Indrasāila Cave.”

On the railing pillars at the gates one has to see the life-size figures of the four Yakṣas with labels recording their names as Dhatarāṭha (Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Viruḍaka (Virūdhaka), Virupaka (Virupākṣa), Kupira (Kubera). The representation of these guardian angels or regents of the quarters apparently follows their description in the Mahāsamaya and the Ātānāṭiya Suttas. In a Pāli commentary Kubera is described as Kumārī-vāhana, i. e. with a maiden as his vehicle. The representation of Kubera as Nara-vāhana, i. e. with a man as his vehicle, rather points to a source similar to the Lalitavistara version of the Mahāsamaya story.

These four yakṣas of warrior-like habit and civic spirit are all benevolent deities representing a super human type, in whose families and retinues there were the goddesses of an anthropomorphic character, the nāgas or dragons of a pitiable existence, and the ferocious and malevolent yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs of an infra-human type.

Our railing bears some figures of the popular Goddess of Luck, apparently representing two types, northern and southern. In the northern type, the goddess is seated majestically on a full-blown lotus, being anointed with water from a jar held over her head by two elephants from two sides, standing on two lotuses. Here the goddess is but an artistic form of Beauty as an aspect of the Divine Being, adored by the lotus-shaped human heart, placed under the apex of two elephant-like lungs touching each other at a

point. Of the southern type (referred to in some of the Buddhist writings as the eastern), there is only one example of a life-size female statue with prominent hip and heaving bust, expressive of the power of production and feeding. The reason for association of the former type with the life of the Buddha is not quite clear, though there is indication in the Lalitavistara story that ideal beauty or gracefulness was a corollary of the quality of Buddhahood. The figure of the latter type is indexed by the label recording the descriptive name of

“The goddess of lucky grace”.

In addition to Sirimā Devatā, there are standing figures of two weeping, bemoaning, or shrieking goddesses, representing two wild varieties, who must have been tamed by the Buddha’s powers. These are :—

“The weeping goddess of the larger variety”.

“The weeping goddess of the lesser variety”.

There is, first of all, a pathetic scene of a Dragon-chief hurriedly wending his way to the Divine Saviour, together with his wife and daughter, to pay homage as a means of escape out of his present unbearable existence, in spite of his amazing hoards of wealth. The story of this interview can be traced in the Dhammapada-commentary and the Mahāvastu. The Dragon-chief was noted as one of the four richest persons. He is assigned to a home in a lake of ancient Taxila, which was a great centre of trade. To this scene are attached two labels, one simply containing his name and the other describing his pious acts—

“Erāpata [Erāpatha, Erakapatta, Ailapattra]
—the Dragon-chief”.

“The Dragon-chief Erāpata bows down to the Divine Master”.

The second scene is that of another Dragon-chief standing on a rocky ground with joined hands directed towards the invisible presence of the Buddha. The existing Buddhist

literature affords no clue to identification of the story. The annexed label clearly bears the name of :

“The Dragon-chief Cakravāka.”

It is in taming and humanising the yakṣas that the Master had to display a wonderful moral courage and spiritual powers. Of the yakṣa-scenes, our railing can produce the following specimens. There is, for instance, the life-size figure of a yakṣa standing on a hideous-looking vehicle with the tail of a Makara and the front part of a quadruped like the goat. So far as the literary description goes, this ferocious demi-god was Ajakālāpaka or goat-molester, the devourer of living beings of immortal essence, in whose temple, situated near Pāṭali or Pāvā, where the goats were sacrificed in groups or men entered with offerings uttering the cry ‘aja’ or ‘unborn,’ the aja or goat symbolising the unborn. The burning of the goat with a corpse is an ancient Aryan custom referred to in a Vedic funeral-hymn. Evidently the yakṣa represents Time or Death, the destroyer of living creatures. Even this dreaded being was tamed by the Buddha. The label records the name of the yakṣa as—

“Ajakālaka.”

There is another standing figure of a yakṣa in a similar devotional attitude. The particulars of this demi-god cannot be traced in any known Buddhist or Indian work. Apparently his habitat was some Gangetic region. At any rate, the label names him—

“The Gangetic yakṣa.”

There is yet another yakṣa-statue with the usual devotional attitude. This scene of interview is based upon a Buddhist discourse, from which and its commentary it is clear that the yakṣa a prickly-haired, porcupine-like demi-god who lived inside a Tam shaped stone-structure, on the roof of which lived another yakṣa of the rough-skinned crocodile species. The label aptly describes him as :

“The prickly-haired yakṣa.”

Though the actual figure is missing, the surviving label

legibly bears the name of a yakṣa, of whom no trace can be found in the existing Buddhist or Indian literature. He is named—

“The Supravāsa yakṣa.”

These demi-gods are all male yakṣas. Our railing also bears figures of a few female species, such as “Candrā” and “Sudarsanā” who are not met with in any known literature.

The sculptors of our railing have tried to magnify the powers of the Saviour by other means as well. There is a fine medallion-carving illustrating the glorious name of the Lord served to rescue the crew of a merchant-ship from the jaws of a whale. The label records :

“The wealthy merchant Vasugupta is rescued from the grip of a whale and brought ashore.”

This is not all. Our railing also bears representations of the lordly thrones of the mighty being, worshipped by a herd of elephants, one of which is placed in a scene having something to do with—

“Sisūpāla the fort-keeper and Venuka the gardener.”

(*To be continued*)

B. M. BARUA

The Vicitra Nāṭak

(GURU GOVIND SINGH'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY ADVENTURES)

General description

In the *Daśam Pādshāh kā Granth* or the Book of the Tenth Guru is incorporated the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, a metrical composition in fourteen chapters, wherein the Guru describes, among other things, some of the principal actions in which he fought, either as a principal or as an ally. The *Daśam Granth* was compiled from various materials by Bhāi Mani Singh about twenty six years after the death of Guru Govind Singh. 'It is apparently a collection of many books of various sizes and the subjects dealt with seem to be as various.' There is clear internal evidence that different parts of the *Daśam Pādshāh kā Granth* were written by different authors at different times, but as to the authorship of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself there has never been any doubt, though the date of composition has not as yet been definitely settled.

Like the *Ādi Granth* and the rest of the *Daśam Granth* itself, the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is written in the Gurumukhi character but the language is old Hindi with a large admixture of Sanskrit and Persian words. Moreover, from his early training and environment at Patna, Guru Govind Singh had developed a liking for eastern forms and idioms. These he freely used in his compositions and thus introduced an element of great difficulty for the future interpreters of his work. The modern Sikh commentaries are not always convincing and there still remains much room for honest doubts. But such instances are obviously rare and with Macauliffe's unrivalled translation of the major portion of the work for our guidance, we think that it is possible to take a gauge of the work and proceed to estimate its historical importance.

Guru Govind Singh opens his work by an invocation to the Sword, which is identified in the Guru's mind with the

Lord. The first six sections of the work except a portion of the fifth, where the Guru gives a bare account of his predecessors in office, belong, more or less, to the domain of mythology and need not detain us long. But the Guru's mode of presenting his mission is extremely interesting and deserves a brief notice. Guru Govind Singh traces the history of the Sodhi family to its origin and then narrates the circumstances under which he was commanded by the Almighty to appear in this world to preach to men the true ways of religion. The origin of the Sodhi family is traced to the time-honoured line of Raghu to which belonged the celebrated hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. Iahu and Kuśu (Lava and Kuśa), the two sons of Rāma are said to have built the two cities of Lahore and Kassur, which were named after them. The descendants of these two kings continued to wield sceptres for a long time and lived in harmony till the days of Kālket and Kālraī. Kālket (descended from Kuśu) is said 'to have possessed peerless strength' and had no difficulty in expelling Kālraī (descended from Iahu) from the city. The latter fled to the Sānaudh country¹ where he married a king's daughter. To him a son named Sodhi Rāi was born and the Sodhi race began from that time. The Sodhis gradually became influential and independent, conquered many countries and at last invaded the Punjab. The descendants of Kuśu were defeated, and in their turn, fled to Benares where in course of time they became the readers of the *Vedas* and came to be known as the Vedīs. Another turn in the wheel of fortune came. To patch up past differences the Sodhi king of the Punjab wrote a conciliatory letter to the Vedī chief and invited him and his followers to come back to the Punjab. The Vedī chief complied with the request. On the arrival of the Vedīs the Sodhi king asked them to recite the *Vedas*. They obeyed. The

1 Macauliffe says that it was situated near Benares and its inhabitants, the Sānaudhis, were afterwards called Sodhis (*Sikh Religion* Vol. v, p. 291, fn. 4.)

king was very much pleased, gave all his possessions to the Vedīs and assuming the garb of a Ṛkhi retired to the forest to become absorbed in God's love. The Vedī chief blessed the Sodhi king, saying,

“When I come in the Kali Age under the name of Nānak I will make thee worthy of worship in the world. And thou shalt attain the highest dignity.”

And the blessing was fulfilled when Guru Amar Dās gave the Guruship to Rām Dās Sodhi, in whose line it became hereditary.

The Guru next relates his own circumstances and informs us that in his former life he was engaged in deep austerities in the mountain of Hem Kuṇṭ when God gave him the order to assume birth in this Kali Age. As his attention was fixed on God's feet the Guru did not desire to come but God remonstrated earnestly with him and he had to obey. It is important to notice that like his predecessor Nānak, Guru Govind Singh also does not deny the missions of the various religious teachers that preceded him but says that they did not follow the path laid down by the Almighty and arrogated to themselves the worship that was due to Him alone. There were innumerable sects with different formalities and rituals but true love of God was nowhere to be found and hence the Guru was sent to this world to establish the true Panth.

No comment on these stories is necessary here except that these and various other portions of the *Dasam Pāṭśāh kī Granth* 'serve as an excellent index to the part played in Guru Govind Singh's life and activities by Hindu mythological ideas.' As Dr. Narang says, 'he seems to have been deeply impressed by the idea that runs throughout the Paurāṇic literature, viz., the idea of a saviour appearing from time to time to uphold righteousness and destroy unrighteousness. The circumstances in which he was placed and the tyranny and oppression that he saw around him were very likely to make him feel that the time for a new saviour had arrived and like all great men who have helped in the

advancement of humanity he felt that he himself was the man required by the times.¹

But these are questions with which we have no concern here. The stories referred to above, together with the introductory invocation to the Sword, cover the first six sections of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* and it is with the seventh that the really historical interest of the work commences. Herein the Guru narrates briefly the story of his birth and in subsequent sections he describes his early adventures.

It may as well be stated here that even in those portions of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* which are generally regarded as being beyond the domain of history there occur a few sentences, here and there, which seem to throw some light on the career of Guru Govind Singh, or are at least very suggestive. For instance in the first section the Guru says that none had erred like him and asks the forgiveness of the Lord for his past errors. Naturally one becomes curious to know what the Guru is referring to. Again, we come across a very interesting passage in the last section of the work to which Malcolm draws attention in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*². As the learned author points out, the Guru here seems to admit the temporal sovereignty of the descendants of Bābar. Guru Govind Singh says that the successors of both Bālā Nānak and Bābar were created by God himself and the former was to be recognised as a spiritual and the latter as a temporal king. The successors of Bābar would plunder those who would not deliver the Guru's money. We are tempted to suggest that the Guru is referring here to the well-known incident of the treacherous and fugitive *musands*, narrated in the Sikh records³. The story runs that when Husain Khan was fighting some of the Hill Rājās and the Guru, many of the *musands* fled to the hills with their accumulated treasures. But the Moghul

1 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 74, 75.

2 Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 62, fn.

3 Macauliffe, Vol. v. p. 59.

general Mirza Beg, who had succeeded Prince Muazzim in the command against the Hill Rājās, proceeded instantly against them and stripped them of all their possessions. Passages like these add another element of interest to the work and raise a hope that a closer enquiry is likely to be still more fruitful.

*Sources of information on Guru Gobind Singh and
the historical value of the Vicitra Nāṭak*

The *Vicitra Nāṭak* very early attracted the attention of modern scholars and more than hundred years ago Malcolm brought it to light and incorporated English translations of several important extracts from the work in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*, though, as Cunningham says, 'his own general narrative of the events is obviously contradictory and inaccurate.'¹ Almost every subsequent writer has referred to the work and utilised it, though some have been sceptical as to its historical value. According to Malcolm 'the work is more calculated to inflame the courage of his followers than to convey correct information of actual events'² and the learned author adds that the Guru's account of the adventures against Husain Khan is given 'in a style sufficiently inflated for the wars of the demons and angels.'³ 'The Guru's object,' writes Dr. Narang, 'was to rouse the military ardour of his followers rather than record history.'⁴ Macauliffe says, 'at that time it was the custom to recite on the eve of battle the praises and warlike deeds of the brave, so that the hearts even of cowards might be inspired with eagerness for the fray.' This was the object that led Guru Gobind Singh to translate the tenth canto of the *Bhāgavat* in which are recounted the chivalrous exploits of Kṛṣṇa.' 'I have rendered into the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavat*,' says the Guru, 'with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare,' and the praises of Caṇḍī were specially translated that 'they might be chanted

1 Cunningham's: *History of the Sikhs* (Garrett's Edition)

2 Malcolm, *ibid.*, p. 54. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 59, fn. 4 Narang, *ibid.*, p. 91, fn.

for warlike purposes.’¹ Though it is nowhere stated explicitly, still it seems probable from the character of the descriptions, that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was also written *partly* for the same purpose. I say *partly* advisedly, for the main object of the Guru in writing this work was undoubtedly the presentation of his mission—establishing true religion as the chosen instrument of God.

But that does not prove that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* can be of no historical use. The descriptions of the battles may be exaggerated and inflated but there remain many other things besides. The general sequence of events, the causes and the main incidents of the battles, the combatants that participated in them, and similar other matters are perhaps more important for our purposes, and it is with regard to these that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* proves to be of invaluable assistance. A rapid survey of our sources of information on the life of Guru Govind Singh and the general confusion that prevails in the modern works on Sikh history would, we hope, make our position clear.

Besides the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, the two other works, which are generally relied upon for the history of Guru Govind Singh, are the *Gur Vilās* of Bhāi Sukhā Singh and the *Sūraj Prakāś* of Bhāi Santokh Singh. ‘Bhāi Sukhā Singh was born in A. D. 1766 in Ānandapur, where Guru Govind Singh long had his residence. He became a pupil of Bhāis Bhagwan Singh and Thākur Singh, and was subsequently a *jīānī* or expounder of the *Granth Sāhib* at Keshgarh where the tenth Guru first administered his baptism.’² Sukhā Singh lived and worked in the very tract which had been the centre of Guru Govind Singh’s activities and though he completed his work about ninety years after the death of the tenth Guru, it seems probable that he had opportunities of ascertaining the facts that he narrated. At any rate, the *Guru Vilās* must be regarded as extremely useful as

1 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, V. p. 83. 2 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, V. p. 1 fn.

It is the earliest detailed account of the life of Guru Govind Singh that has come down to us.

But to the orthodox Sikh the most authoritative of all the works about their Gurus is the *Sūraj Prakāś* of Bhāi Santokh Singh. Macauliffe's opinion of the work, however, is extremely unfavourable. Besides the fact that the work was completed so late as 1843, exception has been taken even to the mentality of the author himself. The learned author of the *Sikh Religion* says that from his early education and environment Bhāi Santokh Singh was largely tinctured with Hinduism. It is extremely doubtful whether he had any reliable authority before him and his statements cannot often be accepted as even an approach to history. Macauliffe takes particular exception to numerous stories of indifferent merit sometimes discreditable to the Gurus and their systems that Bhāi Santokh Singh incorporates in his work, and suggests that most of them had been invented by the author himself.¹ These remarks might be a bit too hard but they show how desperate our position is.

The other Gurumukhi records are still less reliable. We come next to the *Sau Sākhi*, and the *Sākhi Book* translated by Sirdar Āttar Singh of Bhadāour. Macauliffe says, 'There is a book called *Sau Sākhi* which professes to be a conversation between Sāhib Singh and Gurbux Singh on the sayings and doings of the tenth Guru.....It is relied on by the Kukās as the main authority for their heresy. There, however, appears nothing to establish its authenticity.'² We have not been able to procure a copy of this book. It is, however, interesting to note that the *Sākhi Book* translated by Sirdar Āttar Singh is also said to have been written by Sāhib Singh on the basis of what he heard from Gurbux Singh, one of the immediate disciples of Guru Govind Singh

1 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, i, Introduction, p. lxxvii.

2 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, v, p. 1 fn.

and a lineal descendant of Bhāi Budha.¹ It is clear that the original of Sirdar Āttar Singh's translation cannot be the same as the *Son Sākhi* but it is evident that a close connection between the two exists. 'Santokh Singh also sometimes gives Bhāi Gurbux Singh's communication to Sāhib Singh as the basis of his history of the Gurus' and it may not be improbable that this fact was seized upon by later writers who, in order to gain credence for their narratives, passed their own works in the name of Sahib Singh. That this is the case with Sirdar Āttar Singh's *Sākhi Book* is almost certain. The translator is inclined to place the composition of the work near about 1834² but there is clear internal evidence that it is much later. Many things are referred to in the form of prophecies and there cannot possibly be any doubt that the book was written even after the Mutiny. The *Sākhi Book*, therefore, is not of much historical value and the same may be said of Sirdar Āttar Singh's translation of the *Sākhi Nāmā*.

Lastly, we have got to consider the *Panth Prakās* and the *Itihās Guru Khālsā*. The latter is a recent treatise by Sādhu Govind Singh of Benares. The *Panth Prakās* is based on older Gurumukhi works and is perhaps an attempt to recount the story of the Gurus from the point of view of a reawakened Sikh. Dr. Narang uses this work freely in his '*Transformation of Sikhism*' but it is our opinion that as the book was written so late as 1880, it must yield in authority to the earlier records whenever there is any attempt in it to strike a new path. But the *Panth Prakās*, in one sense, is very useful as it is practically an abridged compilation of the more ponderous volumes on the Sikh Gurus.

This fairly exhausts the Gurumukhi materials we have on Guru Govind Singh, for more recent works like the *Sikkhan de Raj di Bikhā* or the *Tuwarikh Guru Khālsā* may safely be ignored. As far as we are aware, no Persian document of

1 *Sākhi Book* (Sirdar Āttar Singh's Translation), p. 1.

2 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

importance, which throws light on the early adventures of Guru Govind Singh, has yet been discovered but there exist several works in English which deserve a brief notice. The two earliest are Browne's *India Tract* and Forster's *Travels* but the accounts given are obviously confused, Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* does not improve our position much. Leaving aside the more comprehensive volumes on Sikh history, we come to the introductory essays in Trumpp's *Ādi Granth* and Macauliffe's account of Guru Govind Singh given in the fifth volume of his famous work on Sikh religion. The value of Trumpp's remarks is greatly weakened by his obvious prejudice against the Sikhs but this can on no account be said of Macauliffe whose object throughout has been to present the orthodox Sikh view-point. I may as well mention here that there is a work in Bengali, viz., the *Life of Guru Govind Singh* by Babu Tinkāḍi Banerjee, which is also likely to be of some assistance. The book is based almost entirely on the *Sūraj Prakāś* and with due caution may very well be used as a source book.

We would conclude by mentioning another very interesting work, viz., the *Bilaspur Bānswara*, compiled under the direct supervision of the late Rājā Hirā Cānd. 'It was drawn up by men of learning in the State, who were given access to such family and State records as existed, and though no doubt the earlier chapters contain more mythology than historical fact, the work is both useful and interesting¹. Although this book does not give us any new facts, it supplies us with a very important date, which, in the present shifty and uncertain state of Sikh chronology, cannot be too highly estimated. We are inclined to believe that if similar works existed about the various other Hill States with which Guru Govind Singh had dealings in peace and war, our task might have become easier.

We are now in a position to go back to the question with which we started, viz., the historical value of the *Vicitra*

1 *Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur State*, p. 4.

Nāṭak. It appears that the historical portion of this work is the only contemporary account of the early adventures of Guru Govind Singh and the next record is about a century later. The Guru's descriptions might be inflated and all his details might be 'saturated with the spirit of Hindu mythology' but it has to be remembered that in the later works as well, common historical events are very often almost inextricably mixed up with religious myths and legends; moreover, it is significant that almost all the later works, notably the *Gur Bilās* corroborate the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, though they add many details and supply some missing links that enable us to follow more clearly the fragmentary account of the Guru. And when we examine the confusion among modern writers, the need for more closely studying the only contemporary narrative, however limited it may be in its usefulness, becomes evident. One single instance, I hope, would make my point clear. With regard to the first battle of Guru Govind Singh, Cunningham says that it was a mere local skirmish against the chief of Nahan¹. According to Irvine 'his first campaign was made as the ally of one hill Rājā, Bhīm Cānd of Nadon against another the Rājā of Jammu, who had been incited by Miyan Khan the Moghul to make an attack on his neighbour'². While Narang writes that the Rājās had made a grand alliance against the Guru and the parties met at Bhangani where the Guru's first battle was fought and won³. On these points the testimony of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is almost invaluable, and our regret is not that the Guru's account is inflated and animated but that he has not left a similar record of his later exploits.

(*To be continued*)

INDUBHUSHAN BANERJI

1 Cunningham, *ibid*. 2 Irvine's *Later Moghuls*.

3 Narang, *ibid*, pp. 89-90

Bengal School of Art

Origin and Varieties of Indian Art

Art is idealistic in India. From pre-historic times idealistic India developed her Art. It influenced the national life of the people. In the earliest stage of human civilization, protection of self and preservation of racial seeds are the greatest pursuits of mankind ; then comes the protection of society and religion ; and last of all, prevails the culture of Art for the manifestation of inward bliss and mental pleasures. India has never been satisfied with 'little,' her achievements have always been the greatest in all her undertakings. The number of her arts by the gradual process of ramification ran up from 64 to 582.

India is spiritualistic and its spirituality is the underlying cause of its art-culture. As to please the gods the Indian people developed their music, so to illustrate the attributes of their divinities they had recourse to painting and sculpture. And to enshrine their metallic and lithic images they eventually developed their architecture. Sculpture and Architecture are inter-related and they grew up side by side. Under the common name of *Vāstu-Vidyā* or architecture, the Aryans of India dealt with all other branches of Art.

Teachers of Art and their Works

As there were 20 preachers of the Codes of Law in Vedic India, so there were no less than 18 teachers of the Science of Art. The names of these teachers, as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, are :—Bhṛgu, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālākṣa, Parandara, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandiś, Śaunaka, Garga, Vasudeva, Niruddha, Śukra and Brhaspati. Many of them were celebrated *ṛṣis* or *munis*. We still worship Viśvakarman and Maya. It is doubtful whether Viśvakarman was the name of a person or a mere title. In the 6th century A. D., Varāha Mihira, while

compiling his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, took his lessons from the work of Garga and others. Besides these 18, there were other teachers of *Silpa Śāstras*, which, according to some, were numbered 64.

In Northern India, on account of frequent foreign invasions and revolutions, many works on Indian Art have been lost. Some splendid specimens of ancient Art and Mss. on the Science are still to be found in Southern India. About a century ago, a talented Paṇḍit of Tanjore, Rām Rāj, collected the mss. of *Mānasāra*, *Mayamata*, *Kāśyapa*, *Vaikhānasa*, *Sakalādhikara*, *Viśvakarmya*, *Sanatkumara*, *Sārasvatyam*, *Pāñcarātra* and other works of Art and the accomplished Paṇḍit in his *Essay on Indian Architecture* dealt with the first four and specially *Mānasāra*. Of these four, the authors are known from the names except in the case of *Mānasāra* which is said to have been the work of Agastya, the pioneer of Aryan civilization in the South. These works belong mostly to the Deccan where great temples were built according to the canons laid down in the mss. Though there may not be found *Vimāna* or *Gopuram* in other parts of India, the principles are the same everywhere in the construction of pillars, pedestals, and arches. Being deeply absorbed in their culture of Art, the ancient Hindus evolved a sound and original system of their own, which prevailed all over the country, and "this Indian Art," as Mr. Havell says, "is still a living thing with vast potentialities."

History of Art up to the 7th century A. D.

"Hindu Art is the real Indian Art." It received a great impetus from Jainism and Buddhism, specially from the time of Asoka in the 3rd century B. C. There might have been foreign influences when Buddhistic India came into contact with outside countries. But India assimilated all that she received and got nourishment from the culture of many nations among which she preached her religion and spread her culture and civilization. She created a greater India all her own and infused everywhere, a new spirit

which cannot but be characterised as original. Modern history of art begins with Asoka. His capital at Pataliputra became a great centre of art-culture, from which Bengal got its first impulse. It is doubtful whether the Græco-Bactrian art of Gandhāra ever reached Bengal after passing through Magadha. The start that was given by Asoka was stopped or retarded for several centuries on account of political changes. There was no doubt a revival of Art and Literature during the reign of the Gupta Vikramādityas, but a definite growth of Art is scarcely perceptible even when all Northern India came under the mighty rule of king Harṣa in the 7th century A. D. This monarch was a great lover of learning and literature, himself a poet of no mean repute, and his patronage of the Buddhistic University of Nālandā went a great way to make it a unique international centre of education in the world. Though his court-poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa states that a group of skilled painters painted at the time auspicious scenes, the traces of these artistic products are now lost to us through the iconoclastic spirit of the early Moslem invaders. But the condition was quite otherwise in the South, where Harṣa's great rival, king Pulakesin II of the Cālukya dynasty was reigning. Under his patronage the best fresco-paintings of the caves of Ajanta were nicely executed. Though Harṣa's was presumably an age of painting, it cannot be said that sculpture and architecture were neglected, for how then could the statements of the great Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang regarding the extensive educational buildings and splendid monasteries of Nālandā be justified? Some beautiful metallic and stone images recently discovered by the excavation at Nālandā serve as a link between the growth of sculpture in the Gupta period and the reign of the Pāla kings of Magadha and Bengal. The stream of art-culture, which flowed through Magadha in the 8th century A. D., assumed a new character in Bengal and a *New School of Art* was the result. Gradually during the 800 years of the rule of the Pāla, Sena, and Pathan kings of Bengal, three different stages of

the Bengal Art were noticeable—Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic—according to the character of the religious persuasions of the reigning monarchs. We propose to take a brief chronological view of these three aspects of the growth and progress of the Bengal School of Art as a distinct school of Indian Art.

Art-culture under the Pāla kings of Bengal

As soon as king Harṣa died, Northern India was once again in the midst of anarchy and misrule. But a great change took place before the close of a century, when the harrassed people of Bengal in order 'to escape from anarchy' elected Gopāla Deva, the son of a successful soldier, as their king in the middle of the 8th century A. D.¹ Gopāla was followed by 17 other kings of the Pāla dynasty reigning from 750 to 1198 A. D. Gopāla Deva ushered in a new era of good government by establishing peace and tranquillity in the country. These Pāla kings were almost all Buddhists, and under the balmy shade of their benign rule, there dawned a Renaissance of Art, which reached a culminating point during the protracted reigns of the 2nd and 3rd kings of the line—Dharmapāla and Devapāla, the son and grandson of Gopāla Deva. These two kings are the real founders of the greatness of their dynasty. They conquered far and wide and attained to the sovereignty of nearly the whole of Northern India. The period of one hundred years during which they ruled (780—892 A. D.) may be said to be an epoch of great development of Art in Madhyadeśa. Among the many valuable finds of the Nālandā excavation, there has been discovered a copper-plate inscription, which refers to the establishment of a monastery at Nālandā by the king of Java and this was

1 Varendra or North Bengal was the original home of the Pāla kings. Gopāla was elected for the throne in Gauḍa or Varendra kingdom. Magadha and Mithilā were then included in the kingdom of Gauḍa, to get the sovereignty of which, Gopāla conquered Magadha and established a capital at the city of Bihar near modern Patna.

done with the express permission of the reigning monarch Devapāla. In the Viradeva inscription of Ghoshpara, Devapāla has been styled the king of the world. In this regime of extraordinary brilliancy, the culture of art in the country rose to its zenith.

Taranath, a Tibetan Lama, wrote in 1608 A. D., a history of Buddhism of which the last chapter gives us many important points with regard to the art-history of India. I am quoting a passage from the translation of the chapter : "In the time of the kings Devapāla and Śrīmantha Śarmapāla, there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhīman, whose son was Bitpāla ; both of them produced many works in cast-metal as well as sculptures and paintings, which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools ; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast-images of the gods he produced, were of the *Eastern Style*, whatever might be the birthplace of their actual designers. In painting the followers of the father were called the *Eastern School*, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called the followers of the *Madhyadesa School* of Painting. In Nepal, the earlier school of art resembled the old *Western School* ; but in course of time was formed a Nepalese school which in painting and casting resembled the eastern types. The latest artists have no special character."

So we see that both the father and the son, Dhīman and Bitpāla, were skilled alike in painting, sculpture, and bronze-founding. Dhīman was the head of the eastern school of painters, while his son Bitpāla, who lived in Bengal, was the head of the eastern school of bronze-casting. If we investigate the sculptures in Bengal and Behar, and even in Orissa to which Pāla-rule never extended, we may be able to identify the works of Dhīman and his son.

This culture was a little retarded after Devapāla but in the reign of Mahīpāla I in the latter part of the 10th century A. D., Shīrapāla and Vasantapāla, two younger

brothers of Mahīpāla I went to Sarnath and repaired the Dharmarājika Mahāvihāra of Asoka and the capital of the newly discovered Asokan pillar and also erected a Gandhakuṭī. Mahīpāla himself built up the temples of Navadurgā at Benares. I am just annexing a list of some significant dated images of the Pāla period, found here and there, which will give an idea of the development of art, specially of lithic and metallic sculptures in Bengal and Behar.

Specimens of the Pāla Art

1. Three stone images of *Viṣṇu* found near the Mahābodhi temple of Bodhigayā, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, with an inscription on the left side, from which it is known that a sculptor named Keśava placed the image of the four-headed Mahādeva near the Mahābodhi tree in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla Deva.

2. Two stone images of *Buddha*, found at Uddanāpur, the modern Bihar town in the Patna District, dedicated by an inscription in the pedestal of each of the images, from which it is known that they were set up by Purna Das a Buddhist monk of Sindh at Uddanāpur Mahāvihāra in the 3rd year of the reign of Vigrahapāla I (or Surapāla I).

3. A bronze image of Pārvatī found at Uddanāpur; from the inscription at the back it is known that the image was dedicated by a merchant named Uchpatra Thākura in the Uddanāpur Mahāvihāra in the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla Deva.

4. A stone image of goddess *Vajrāsvarī* discovered in the ruins of Nālandā. From the inscription on its pedestal which has been perfectly deciphered, it is known that the image was dedicated in the 1st year of Gopāla Deva II.

5. Five metal images of *Viṣṇu* discovered near Sahebgunj in the Gaibanda sub-division of the Rungpur district in Bengal, two of which are being locally worshipped and three have been brought to the Calcutta Museum. Though there is no inscription to date the images, Dr. Spooner of the Archaeological Department has reasons to hold that they are

associated with the dynasty of the Pālas of the 10th century¹. These images have resemblance to a statue of Viṣṇu of the Mathura Museum².

6. A stone image of *Buddha* discovered amidst the ruins of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, dedicated with an inscription by a person named Śakrasena during the reign of Gopāla Deva II, no year being mentioned.

7. A stone image of *Viṣṇu*, discovered at Baghaura village in the Tippera District, dedicated with an inscription on its pedestal, which shows that a Vaiṣṇava merchant named Lokadatta established the image in the 3rd year of Mahīpāla I.

8. A stone image of *Buddha* on a door-frame, found in the ruins of Nālandā, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum. The inscription under the feet of the image records that one Bālāditya erected a temple and incised the inscription in the 11th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I (973-1026 A. D.).

9. A colossal image of *Buddha* at Tetrawan village, six miles from Bihar town in the Patna District, dedicated with an inscription which gives the name of Mahīpāla I.

10. An image of *Buddha* discovered at Sarnath, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, dedicated with an inscription which shows that it was set up by the order of Mahīpāla Deva in 1083 (S. E.) or 1026 A.D.

11. Several bronze images discovered at Imadpur village in the District of Muzaffarpore with inscriptions which declare that they were dedicated in the 48th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I.

12. A stone image of *Buddha* in the attitude of touching the earth, now placed in a small shrine of Bodhgaya with inscription on the pedestal giving the 11th year of king Mahīpāla I.

1 *Archæological Survey Report*, 1911-12, p. 153.

2 V. A Smith's *History of Fine Art*, p. 207.

13. A bronze image of *Viṣṇu*, found at Sāgardighi in the Murshidabad District, near the great *Dighi* or tank excavated by Mahīpāla I. It is a fine specimen of art identifying Bitpāla's hand.

14. A stone image of twelve-armed *Viṣṇu* or a Buddhist saint of the Tāntrika order, found at the ancient Mahīpāla city in the Murshidabad District, which was one of the provincial capitals of Mahīpāla I. The image is preserved in the Calcutta Museum.

15. A stone image of *Buddha* found at Bihar in the Patna District and preserved in the Calcutta Museum. It was dedicated with an inscription by one Dehek, son of Suvarṇakara Sāhā in the 13th year of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III (1045-58 A. D.).

16. Two *liṅga* images of *Śiva* with an inscription plate, now seen at the Akṣayavatā tree at Gaya. From the inscription it is known that one Viśvāditya erected two temples for the *liṅgas* in the 5th year of Vīgrahapāla Deva III.

17. A stone image of *Tārā* discovered at the Tetrawan village in the Patna District, preserved in the Calcutta Museum, with an inscription recording the dedication of the image by a certain Bhaṭṭa Ichra in the 2nd year of the reign of Rāmapāla, son of Vīgrahapāla III.

18. A stone image of *Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi*, discovered at Chandimau village in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District and now preserved in the Calcutta Museum. From the inscription on its pedestal it is known that it was dedicated by a merchant named Sādhuharaṇ in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla. (*Memoirs of Asiatic Society*, vol. v, pp. 93-4).

19. A stone stèle of *Buddha* or group of images from the scenes of Buddha's life, exquisitely finished in the best style possible, now found at Sivabāri village in the Bagerhat subdivision of the Khulna District presumably identifying the workmanship of Dhīman and his famous school of the Pāla Art in Magadha. (Fully described in my *History of Jessore and Khulna*, vol. I, pp. 205-12).

20. A similar stone stèle of *Buddha*, preserved in the Calcutta Museum (Br. 5. Cat. II, p. 80), belonging to the ancient school of Pāla art in Magadha.

It is evident from these specimens how the Pāla kings of Bengal were great patrons of Art and were directly or indirectly responsible for the installation of various images in their kingdom, most of them having been found at or near their capital cities. Most of these images were of Buddha but those of *Viṣṇu* were not inconsiderable. There were also images of Tārā, Vāgīśvarī, Pārvatī, and other Tāntrika deities. The metallic images were generally found to be of *Viṣṇu*. It may be surmised that Dhīman was himself a Buddhist and lived in Magadha, while his son Bitpāla being a Hindu did not leave Varendra. These skilled artists and their disciples realizing a true aspect of beauty from a study of nature, chiselled out their images from hard stone or cast metals with a rare imaginative power and masterful vigour. They clothed their ideals of divine form with an awe-inspiring dignity and calm solemnity, and there flashed such divine looks in their beaming eyes and eternal smiles in their lips and cheeks as were never dimmed even when buried in ruins for a thousand years.

The style of the two master artists Dhīman and Bitpāla, as Taranath clearly points out, influenced the neighbouring kingdoms. Nepal founded a school of her own in painting and bronze-casting based on the model of the Eastern school of the Pāla regime. The beautiful Nepalese images of Tārā, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, and Trimūrti (Buddhist Triad) in cast-copper, are examples of this influence. (Vide plates x, xvi, xviii, and xix of Havell's *Indian sculpture and Painting*). The plastic art of Nepal is represented by the images of bronze and copper and not by sculptures in stone.

The Indian culture reached Nepal first and then it was borrowed by the Tibetans. In the reign of their king, Srong-tsan-Gampo, Buddhism was introduced in Tibet with the help of Indian scholars. There was revival of this cult in

Tibet, when, during the reign of the Pāla king, Mahīpāla I, Buddhist preachers like Paṇḍit Dharmapāla and others were invited to go to Tibet in 1013 A. D. and to restore the old religion. A subsequent mission under Paṇḍit Dīpaṅkara, Śrījñāna, Atiśa from the Vikramaśīlā monastery was sent to Tibet in 1042 A. D. during the reign of Mahīpāla's successor Nayapāla and Tibetan Buddhism was firmly established. The Tibetan people had then already introduced the Nepalese art based on the Eastern School and this got an impetus from the religious missions of the later Pāla kings. This school of Tibet may be called the *Nepal-Tibetan Branch School of the Pāla Art*. The artists of Tibet were generally Lamas and their outputs were highly realistic images of Lamas and Buddhist saints.

From Taranath we also know that a similar introduction of the *Pāla School of Art* in Kashmir took place when a certain Hāsurāya (presumably Haṃsarāj, the minister of Queen Didda of Kashmir) founded the *Kashmir School* in the 10th century A. D. The same school of Art seems to have influenced Burma and the Southern countries. In the South, three artists named Jaya, Parājaya and Vijaya had a large number of followers. The concluding remarks of the same Art-historian regarding the gradual decadence of the influence of the Pāla school of Art are important :—"Whenever Buddhism prevailed, skilful religious artists were found, but as Islam advanced they disappeared. When orthodox Hinduism got the upper hand, unskilful images came to the front."

We have already said that Gopāla Deva, the founder of the Pāla dynasty established his capital at Uddanāpur, the modern town of Bihar in the Patna district. This capital was provided with a grand monastery, mistaken for fort when it was captured by the Turki invader, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1197 A. D. The monastery was destroyed and the monks were massacred. Those who survived fled to Tibet, Nepal, and the South. "Buddhism in Magadha never recovered from this blow ; it lingered in obscurity for a while

and then vanished.”¹ And with this stagnation of religion, demolition of temples, destruction or disappearance of images that followed in the wake of iconoclastic conquest vanished the schools of the Pāla Art, which had thoroughly influenced the short rule of the Sen Kings of Bengal, who were more busy with the social problems than with the Art-specimens of religious devotion.

(*To be continued*)

SATISCHANDRA MITRA

Rāma Rāya, Regent of Vijayanagara (1542-1565)

One of the most interesting rulers in the history of Vijayanagara is Rāma Rāya, the Regent of Sadāśiva Rāya. This shrewd politician had saved the Empire from the chaos created by Salakam Timma Rāju after the death of the young monarch Veṅkaṭādri. During his regency, he kept the Empire as illustrious as it had been during the time of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and Acyuta Rāya. His indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India.

We shall study in this paper the character of his regency, putting aside both his administration of the Empire and his foreign policy. Our only purpose is to ascertain what kind of relations existed between Rāma Rāya and his sovereign.

When Sadāśiva was proclaimed Emperor of Vijayanagara he was unfit on account of his age to manage the State affairs. Hence the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda states that

1 Ency. Brit. (11th ed.), vol iii, p. 655.

Rāma Rāya assumed the office of Protector¹. The Muhamadan writer in announcing the assumption of power by the Minister Rāma Rāya describes him as Regent of the puppet Sadāśiva. Accordingly, all power was vested in Rāma Rāya, as the *Cikkadevarāya Vaṃśāvali* recorded some years later². The only fact, on which all the authors who have written on Sadāśiva's reign agree, is the supreme power wielded by the fortunate Minister who was helped by his two brothers. But the aforesaid chronicler of Golkonda suggests at least two different stages in his period of governing; "Rāmraj," he states, "first assumed the office of Protector, and subsequently usurped the throne"³. Is this usurpation of the throne supported by other documents? I have closely examined the inscriptions and grants of Sadāśiva's reign, and discern not two but three different stages in the regency of Rāma Rāya.

During the first period Rāma Rāya is nothing but the Regent on behalf of his Sovereign; even the influence of Sadāśiva's will over his Regent may occasionally be detected through some of the earlier inscriptions. In one of 1546 we read that Sadāśiva "gave orders to Rāma Rāya, saying" etc. and then Rāma Rāya makes a grant according to the king's orders⁴. The same is shown by another inscription of 1547-8, at Podili, Nellore District, in which Sadāśiva is stated to rule Vijayanagara "under the orders of Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Aliyagāmarama Rājayyadeva Mahārajalungaru who bears the burden of the kingdom"⁵. Finally in 1549 "on the orders of Sadāśiva", Rāma Rāya issued an edict for the barbers of Udayagiri⁶.

1 Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. p. 381.

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 302.

3 Ferishta, l. c.

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk., 110.

5 Butterworth, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, III, p. 1195-7.

6 Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, p.

The titles given to Rāma Rāya at this time are '*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*', 'minister'¹, 'agent of Sadāśiva'² 'agent for the affairs of Sadāśiva's kingdom'³ or at most 'ruler of the great Karpāṭa kingdom'⁴. No other trace of higher authority may be gathered from the records of the first year of his governorship.

In the meanwhile, Sadāśiva resided in the capital as a general rule. This is frequently stated in the inscriptions⁵. In 1548 he made the Kanuma grant and in 1551 the Bevinahalli grant in the vicinity of the god Viṭṭhaleśvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, i.e. in Vijayanagara⁶.

From the very beginning, the wise activity of the Regent in conducting the state affairs surpassed all expectations. A grant of Sadāśiva of 1558 exalts the virtues of Rāma Rāya as a ruler saying that he was "possessed of valour, liberality and mercy"⁷; moreover he is noted to be "versed in politics"⁸, or "well-versed in politics"⁹, "skilled in politics"¹⁰, "conversant with politics"¹¹, and to have "studied politics"¹². One of the prudent steps he took in connection with the rule of the vast empire was the division of responsibility. Couto relates that he at once secured the co-operation in his ministership of his two brothers: the administration of justice was granted to Tirumala, while Venkaṭāḍri took over finance¹³. Several inscriptions justify this statement. Early in 1545, according to an inscription of Hampi, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Tirumalarāyadeva Mahārāsu granted to some person the village of

1 472 of 1906; 5 of 1900.

2 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126; Rangacharya, o. c., II, pp. 1073, 199.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk, 13.

4 Sadāśiva's grant, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

5 Butterworth, o. c., II, pp. 921-2.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, v. 43; p. 231, vv. 43-45.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

8 Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, o. c., I, p. 29.

9 Dalavay Agrahāram plates of Venkata I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.

10 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mg, 60.

11 Kuniyur plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.

12 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cy, 39.

13 Couto, *Decadas*, VI, p. 383.

Kotanahalli together with its hamlets¹. In another inscription at Hampi, bearing the same date, mention is made of "Jaṅgāmāyya, the *lalavay* or general of Timmārāja, younger brother of Rāma Rāya"².

As chief minister of the Regent, Tirumala was given the most important province of the Empire to rule ; this was Udayagiri, called the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara³, owing to its proximity to the Muhammadan frontiers. Formerly it was almost always governed by princes of the Royal family as Viceroys, on behalf of the Emperor. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri⁴, and in 1551-2 we find him fulfilling the same office⁵ ; however he did not stay at Udayagiri, because in the same year 1551, according to an inscription at Saṅgam, the Governor of Udayagiri was Civvakkaturi Bayaca Rājayya who ruled on behalf of Tirumala⁶. Was this the same Tirumala who was governor of Udayagiri in 1535-6 ?⁷ His appointment was not due at that time to his brother, but either to Acyuta or to the ministers of the latter.

In spite of the great power which the governorship of Udayagiri naturally gave him, his subordination to Rāma Rāya was at this time exemplary : an inscription of Kalamalla records the remission of taxes on the barbers of this place by Tirumala, with the permission of Rāma Rāya⁸.

As to Venkaṭādri, the *Rāmarājīyamu* of Venkayya mentions the town Kandanol, Karnul District, as the seat of his government⁹. Accordingly in 1547 he exempted the tax on the Brāhmaṇas in the villages of Kānāla¹⁰, Damagatla¹¹ and

1 *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39. 2 *Ibid.*

3 Butterworth, o. c., II, pp. 536, 542. 4 *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 242.

5 Butterworth, o. c., II, p. 867.

6 Rangacharya, o. c., II, p. 1113, 477.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 95. 8 380 of 1904.

9 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

10 Rangacharya, o. c., II, pp. 964, 532.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 947, 395.

Bannūm¹. These places are all situated in Karnul District. This was probably in the first stage of Rāma's governorship, for we find him governing the Chola country during the following one.

Rāma Rāya shortly after Sadāśiva's coronation showed his prudence as well as his decision in an event related by Correa. When going once against the Sultan of Bijapur, a number of captains and nobles, discontent with the Regent's rule, proposed to him to abdicate in order to proceed to a new election. Rāma Rāya apparently agreed and invited them to return to Vijayanagara where the election was to be made. Then he convoked them into the Royal Palace, which was secretly defended by his relations and adherents. When the rebel nobles were inside, all the gates to the palace were closed; the insurgent nobles were then caught by the partisans of Rāma Rāya. Many of the poor prisoners were slain; others suffered the amputation of their feet or the extraction of their eyes².

After some years, probably shortly after the king was old enough to be capable of assuming the government of the Empire, Rāma Rāya put him in prison³ and thus a new era was inaugurated. Frederick says that the three brothers were responsible for this, but Couto imputes the action to Rāma Rāya alone. Couto's statement seems to give foundation to the rebellion of Tirumala and Venkaṭādri to which reference will be made later. Sadāśiva's prison, according to Couto, was a strongly fortified tower, with iron doors and surrounded by sentries; his treatment nevertheless, while there, was such as befitted a king⁴.

1 Rangacharya, *o. c.*, II, pp. 945, 385.

2 Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, IV, p. 439.

3 Purchas *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93; Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, p. 289; Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques, Description Historique*, II, p. 165.

4 "E como era muito poderoso, e gran capitao metteo-se na Corte, e lancou mano do Rey meso, e o metteo em huma torre fortissima, com

Couto does not say where this tower was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadāśiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof, because even supposing he was imprisoned in Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe he was still in Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think he remained in his capital for the reason we shall now give and on account of the events subsequent to the disaster at Talikota. All the records say that Tirumala after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch king Sadāśiva where he was 'kept prisoner', as Frederick states, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Anquetil du Perron says that this *coup d'état* took place somewhere between 1550 and 1552, and since he subsequently states that Sadāśiva remained in this prison thirteen years¹ before the starting of the third stage of Rāma Rāya's government, we may suppose that the opening of the second was in 1550, and lasted until 1562 or 1563. The unfortunate sovereign was shown to his subjects only once a year². This was the only occasion for them to realize that there was still in Vijayanagara, a representative of the old Tuluva Dynasty, seated on the jewelled throne. But, as a matter of fact, Sadāśiva was only the nominal ruler. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Rāma Rāya, who was practically the emperor of Vijayanagara.

During this second stage the inscriptions put the power of Rāma Rāya on an equality with that of Sadāśiva. In 1551 a private grant is made 'for the merit of Sadāśiva and Rāma

grandes vigias, e portas de ferro, aonde o teve em quanto viveo, como huma estatua com o nome so de Rey; mas com todas as despesas, gastos, e apparatus que pudera ter, se fora, e estivera livre". Couto, VI, p. 383. Anquetil du Perron l. c., after relating the imprisonment of the king says: C'est la conduite des Peschwahs de Ponin, a l'égard des descendants de Sevaji renfermes a Satara, et d'Heider Ali Khan envers le Roi de Maissour".

1 Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

2 Frederick, *Purchas*, o. c., p. 93.

Rāya'¹. Another inscription of Dasanḍoddi, dated 1554, states that "Badme Maluka Oḍeya granted one village which had been favoured to him by Sadāśiva and Rāma Rāya"². The Bevinahalli grant of Sadāśiva (1551) gives both genealogies, that of Sadāśiva and that of Rāma Rāya, in detail³. This illustrates the importance of the powerful Regent. Three years later, in 1554-5, Maṅgala Timmoja Kondojugūru, having done service to Rāma Rāya and having made a request to the king, obtained a grant according to his petition⁴. In 1557 the same Maṅgala Timmoja made grant to the god Bhire in order that merit might accrue to Rāma Rāya⁵.

But, although the power of the Emperor and that of his Minister are on the same level, the influence of Sadāśiva is no longer felt. The only rulers of the Vijayanagara empire are three members of the Āravīḍu family : Rāma Rāya and his two brothers. "They ruled at their pleasure as they liked", says Frederick ⁶. Nevertheless Tirumala and Venkaṭādri rebelled against the authority of their brother in the beginning of this stage, say about 1551, presumably because they disliked Rāma Rāya's treatment of his legitimate sovereign. No other reason can be given for this disagreement between Rāma Rāya and his brother. Precisely one year before, 1549-50, Terumala had requested and obtained from Sadāśiva the Mamidipuṇḍi grant⁷ : his gratefulness towards the sovereign could not stand the audacity of his brother.

(*To be continued*)

H. HERAS

- 1 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gd, 54. 2 *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.
- 3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210. 4 Butterworth, o. c., III, p. 1195-7.
- 5 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk 1. 6 Purchas, o. c., p. 93.
- 7 Butterworth, o. c., I, pp. 102, v. 62.

Seṇiya Bimbisāra

Seṇiya Bimbisāra is justly entitled to a place in the front rank of the great rulers, not only of Magadha, but of India. No monarch endowed with so much vigour and ability appeared on the throne of Girivraja since the days of the legendary Jarāsandha, and few will dispute his claim to be regarded as the founder of that imperial power which in the time of the Nandas probably spread as far as the Godāvarī¹ and under the Mauryas dominated almost the whole of Non-Tamil India from the Hindukush to the Venkaṭa Hills. Unfortunately the history of this king is still obscure and even the name of his dynasty is not known for certain. No Bāṇa or Sandhyākara has left a faithful account of the king's pedigree and no Harisena or Ravikīrti has left a genuine record of his military exploits. A few facts regarding this monarch may, however, be gleaned from Buddhist literature, the credibility of which, in the present state of our knowledge, must remain an open question.

We have already stated that the very name of Bimbisāra's family is not known for certain. The old orthodox view based on Paurāṇic evidence is that Bimbisāra was a descendant of a king named Śiśu-nāga, and belonged to what is known as the Śaiśu-nāga dynasty. But this view has been combated by scholars like Geiger and Bhandarkar on the ground that the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon clearly distinguish the royal line of Bimbisāra from that of Śiśunāga, and represent the latter as a late successor, and not as an ancestor of the first named sovereign.

1 The extension of the Nanda Empire as far south as the Godāvarī appears probable from the evidence of the Hathigumpha Inscription and the existence on the Godāvarī of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander ; Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 236).

The inclusion of Bārāṇasī and Vaiśālī within Śiśunāga's dominions seems also to suggest that he came after Bimbisāra and his son Ajātasatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions, and thus tends to confirm the evidence of the chronicles. The Paurāṇic statement that Śiśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti, and the tradition recorded in the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu* that the city of Rājagṛha lost her rank of metropolis from his time, point to the same conclusion.

A welcome light on the problem of Bimbisāra's lineage comes from an unexpected quarter. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka, informs us that when "Śreṇya", the lord of the country of the Magadhas, visited Buddha on the Pāṇḍava Hill¹, the latter addressed him as a scion of the *Harayaṅka Kula* (*Jātasyaharyaṅkakule viślāo*, xi. 2), the family whose ensign is *Hari*. Cowell takes the word *Hari* to mean "lion". But the word has also the sense of "snake" and the latter interpretation would be in keeping with the theory of Professor Bhandarkar who finds in the name of Nāga-Dāsaka, a descendant of Bimbisāra, proof of the fact that these kings belonged to the "Nāga" dynasty. Whatever be the right interpretation of the term "*Harayaṅka Kula*", it cannot be denied that it was the traditional name of Bimbisāra's dynasty in the first century of the Christian era, and, in the absence of earlier and more reliable evidence to the contrary, should be preferred to designations found in Paurāṇic chronicles of the Gupta period.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

1 It is not altogether improbable that the name of the Hill is derived from the Pāṇḍavas who are known to have come to Girivraja in the time of the legendary king Jarasandha.

Sumerians in India

In my recent book on "The Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons", I have tried to establish by a mass of new historical evidence the unsuspected facts that the "Sumerians" were the long lost Early Aryans, in race, speech and script; that their chief sea-going and colonizing branches were the Bhārat Kuru-pañcāla or "Syrio-Phœnician" Kṣattriyas—the *Khattiya* of the older Pāli, and identical with the *Khatti* or "Hitt-ites" of Asia Minor, that they had established themselves in Mesopotamia at the head of the Persian Gulf by 3100 B. C. and that the Indo-Aryans who conquered, colonized and civilized India as well as the Western Aryans who colonized and civilized the Mediterranean, British Isles and North-Western Europe were these leading sea-going branches of the Sumerians.

These conclusions are now dramatically confirmed as regards India by the recent discovery of a large number of ancient seals inscribed with Sumerian writing and associated with buildings and cultural objects of the Sumerian and Phœnician type in the Indus Valley.

I was led to these discoveries, whilst in India during my search for the lost origin of the Home-land of the authors of Indo-Aryan civilization, and have spent the past years since my retirement in pursuing the clues and in establishing the discoveries. On analysing the Indo-Aryan civilization in regard to its culture, social structure, customs, folklore and religion, and the traditional topography and climate, of its ancestral homeland as described in the Vedas—descriptions wholly inapplicable to India apart from the Indus Valley—I was led by numerous clues to trace the Āryas back to Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia.

I then observed that the old ruling race of Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia, from immemorial time was the great

imperial people generally known as "Hitt-ites", but who called themselves "*Khatti*". And the early ruling race of Aryans who first conquered and civilized India called themselves *Khattiya* in the older Pāli, afterwards Sanskritized into "Kṣattriya". I further observed that these ancient Khatti (or Hitt-ites) also called themselves '*Ari*' or '*Arri*' with the meaning of "noble ones", which was thus literally identical in name and in meaning with the *Ariya* of the Pāli and the *Ārya* of the Sanskrit, from which our modern term "Aryan" is derived. And the civilization of this *Arri* or Aryan race of Khatti was essentially of the "Aryan" type.

The identity of these Khatti-Arri with the eastern branch of the Aryans is now apparent. The name *Khatti* has in the Khatti or "Hitt-ite" language the same radical meaning of "cut or ruler" as the Pāli "*Khattiya*" and the Sanskrit "Kṣattriya,"; and I observed that these Khatti and Phœnicians called themselves at times by the patronymic '*Barat*', just as did the "Bharat" Aryans of early India, who have aspirated the 'B'. And I then found that the Khatti language was essentially Aryan in its roots and structure, a fact which has since to some extent been remarked by Hronzy and others.

Turning to the traditional king-lists of the ancient Aryan kings preserved in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata I found that many of the names of these kings were substantially identical with the names of ancient Khatti kings as found on their still extant monuments and cuneiform documents of Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia.

On further scrutinizing the earlier dynasties of these Indian Epic king-lists I observed that several of the leading kings in these lists bore substantially the same names with the same records of achievements, and occurred in the same relative positions in the lists as several of the leading early kings of Mesopotamia—the so called "Sumers and Akkads"—as recorded in their still extant monuments and in the fragmentary ancient chronicles of that land dating back to the

fourth millennium B. C. Further examination fully confirmed this discovery and disclosed complete lists of Sumerian dynasties of kings bearing substantially the same names and in the same relative order as in Indian Epic king-lists. I further found that the leading dynasty of the early Sumerians at the seaport of Sirlapur or Lagosh on the Persian Gulf about 3100 B. C. bore the identical names and in the same relative order as the first *Pañcāla* dynasty of the Indian Epics; and that these "*Pañcāla*" or "the able *Pañc*" were the world-famous Phœnicians, the *Panag*, *Panasa* or *Fenkha*, Syrian mariners of the ancient Egyptians, the *Phoinik*-es of the Greeks, and the *Phœnic*-es of the Romans and a people who, Herodotus tells us, were settled on the Persian coast before about 2500 B. C. when they founded Tyre in Syria-Phœnicia, the old Kuru-*pañcāla* land.

I further found that the Father God of these Sumerians and Phœnicians was called by them "Induru", the "Indara" of the Khatti or Hittites, and was the source in both name and attributes of the *Indra* of the Indo-Aryans. And after over fifteen years' devotion to the study of the Sumerian language and its script, I found that the Sumerian language was radically Aryan in its roots and structure, with identical word-forms and meanings as in Sanskrit and other members of the Aryan family of languages; and the Sumerians were in race and speech Aryans, and were the long lost early Aryans, and that the Kuru-*pañcāla* Bharat Khattiya who first civilized, colonized and aryanized India were a leading branch of the Sumerians, just as were the western Barat Catti who first civilized and colonized Britain and gave it their patronymic of "Burat-ana" or Britain, and stamped their "Khatti" clan title on the coins of the pre-Roman period, and carved it on their pre-historic monuments of Britain. These discoveries, which I have recorded in considerable detail in my book, the greater portion of which is devoted to establishing the Sumerian origin of Indian civilization, language and religion, are now strikingly confirmed as regards India by the dis-

covery of the Sumerian seals of about 3000 B.C. and associated buildings in the Indus Valley.

L. A. WADDELL

Some observations on Puśyamitra and his Empire

It is related in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* that the Maurya emperor Bṛhadratha was, while engaged in reviewing his army, murdered by his general Puśpamitra¹. This tradition finds a sort of corroboration in the accounts of the Purāṇas. Thus according to the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, Bṛhadratha is the last Maurya king, and *Vāyu* gives the name of the last Maurya in a slightly changed form as Bṛhadaśva, while all of them agree in naming as his immediate successor, Puśpamitra or Puśyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. Similar accounts of Puśpamitra's succession to the imperial power of the Mauryas is also to be found in the Jaina tradition. From all these it has been generally accepted that Puśyamitra established himself on the throne of Pāṭali-putra by killing his master, and founded the dynasty known as the Śuṅgas. I do not know on what authority Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī has added the following details :—"At first he (Puśyamitra) led the Maurya armies against the Greeks, who advanced year after year to the very heart of the Maurya empire. After a successful campaign he returned to Pāṭali-putra with his victorious army, and the feeble representative of Aśoka on the throne accorded him a fitting reception. A camp was formed outside the city and a review was held of

¹ The forms Puśpamitra and Puśyamitra are both correct. Cf. G. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362.

a large army. In the midst of the festivities an arrow struck the king on the forehead. The king expired instantly." (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 261).

There are some points which may be taken to signify that even before this tragic event, Puṣyamitra had long been *de facto*, if not *de jure*, king of Magadha. This seems to follow from the Jaina accounts of the chronology of the period as preserved by Merutuṅga in his *Therāvalī* (genealogical or succession-table of the kings of Ujjayinī). This work is written in the form of comments on some of the old *Gāthās* containing chronological and historical data. For our present purpose we need only quote the statement relating to Maurya dynasty. Says Merutuṅga, "Then (i. e. after the Nandas) the Mauryas ruled for 108 years. After the Mauryas, Puṣyamitra ruled for 30 years." The Purāṇas all agree in assigning a duration of 137 years to the Maurya dynasty. The Jaina tradition splits this up into two periods, and assigns the last period of 30 years to Puṣyamitra, rather than to the Mauryas. It must be remembered that the Jaina accounts of kings and dynasties relate to Avantī in very much the same way as the Imperial dynasties described in the Purāṇas relate to Magadha. It is natural to suppose therefore that Puṣyamitra had already exercised independent power in the west, although he did not throw off the mask in the capital, retaining a nominal allegiance to the titular emperor of Magadha. This assumption is strengthened by the statement in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇas*, that Puṣyamitra ruled for 60 years. The sixty-year-rule of Puṣyamitra is in utter conflict with the general statement of all the Purāṇas regarding the duration of the dynasty which is stated "by *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, and by *Viṣṇu* generally, to be 112 years; by 7 Mss. of *Bhāgavata* and one of *Viṣṇu*, 110; and by *Bhāgavata* generally 'over 100 years'¹". The mistake may be explained away by supposing that the duration of the Śuṅga dynasty was counted from after the

1 Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 30.

murder of Brīhadratha, but the reign of Puṣyamitra included the years in which he was *de facto* if not *de jure* king of Magadha. The 36 years assigned to Puṣyamitra in the *Matsya-purāṇa* may be taken to be the number of years he had actually ruled after murdering Brīhadratha. I may refer also in this connection to the significant fact that in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Puṣyamitra is styled *Senāpati*¹ while his son is spoken of as king. Both Śaṅkar Pandurang Paṇḍit² and Wilson³ have concluded from this that Puṣyamitra usurped the Maurya kingdom in favour of his son. Apart from the unnaturalness involved in the supposition, the theory is directly contradicted by the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas that Puṣyamitra was the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty which was founded by him, and that he was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. Nay, even the drama itself bears testimony to the fact that Puṣyamitra himself was then ruling at Pāṭali-putra. For how else could he be initiated into the Aśvamedha sacrifice and send 100 royal princes with Vasumitra at their head to protect the horse? That this sacrifice was certainly not in favour of Agnimitra is quite clear from the expression “soham idānīm Aṃśumateva Sagarah pautreṇa pratyāhṛtaśvo yaksye” Thus Puṣyamitra, though really the king, styled himself *Senāpati*. This can only be explained by supposing that though king *de facto*, he had not yet become king *de jure*, and it may not unfairly be concluded that the Rājasūya sacrifice was instituted precisely with this end in view. The fact that Agnimitra assumes the title of king while his father is still a *Senāpati* presents greater difficulty. I can only suggest that in the last days of the Mauryas, Puṣyamitra had consolidated his power in the empire by managing to have provinces and kingdoms conferred upon himself and his rela-

1 Act V, passages 5, 118, 121 (Śaṅkar Pandurang Paṇḍit's edition).

2 *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 220.

3 “*Theatre of the Hindus*, p. 348.

4 Canto V, passage 125.

tions, even while he remained in name the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya king.

From all the facts mentioned above, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Puṣyamitra, the generalissimo of the empire, grew to be too powerful, and while nominally retaining allegiance to the Maurya empire, he and his sons managed to rule over different provinces and kingdoms subject to the empire. He himself however still retained the title of *Senāpati*, till in an opportune moment he killed his master, and after celebrating an Aśvamedha sacrifice assumed the title and dignity of an Imperial autocrat. His son was already a king though at first subordinate to the Maurya emperor, and hence the curious anomaly of the titles we have noticed in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

(*To be continued*)

R. C. MAZUMDAR

Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata

A critical examination of the *Mahābhārata* shows that it is far from being homogeneous as regards its composition. It seems that the work grew out of an older nucleus, to which successive additions were made. Thus some chapters of the work are very old and undoubtedly belong to that very remote literary period, which saw the rise of the earliest Buddhist canonical literature. Other sections again seem from an examination of their contents to have existed during the 4th century B. C. if not earlier.

A large number of them records the social and political thoughts of the period preceding the age in which the great author of the *Arthasāstra* compiled his treatises on the art

of government. Indeed we are often struck not only by the similarity of ideas, but by the method of enquiry, the way of enquiring into great social problems, and finally by the exact similarity in language. Many of the verses quoted in the *Arthasūtra* are found in the *Mahābhārata*.

While this is the case with a large number of sections, the major portions of the work appear to be of later date, as may be easily inferred from the evidence advanced to us. Words of foreign origin later on grafted into our vocabulary, names of foreign tribes, which invaded India from the 1st century B. C. to the 4th or 5th century A. D., occur in them. We may mention a few of these. Thus e. g. *Dinara*—a word of Latin origin and most probably borrowed by the Hindus after their intercourse with the Græco-Roman world. Of the names of foreign tribes we have the *Hūnas*, *Yavanas*, *Śakas*, *Tuṣāras*, *Pāradas* etc.

Consequently it is very difficult to fix any date as to the composition of this work and the safest conclusion for us would be to hold that the *Mahābhārata* took centuries to be reduced to its present form. The period may be taken to extend from the 6th or 7th century B. C. to the 5th century A. D. The earliest part of the work is that dealing with the history of the great war and the circumstances leading to it. Tradition preserved in different localities or with different families was the main source of the material utilised.

As we have said, the *Mahābhārata* is regarded as an historical work and at the same time an encyclopædia of moral and political wisdom. As regards the historical value of the accounts in the *Mahābhārata* and of the age to which it refers, it is of great service to us in spite of the fact that certain chapters are very late and certain chapters show signs of subsequent handling and that the accounts in some of the chapters often contradict each other.

All these take away indeed much of its value, and bring in perplexities to the mind that ventures with its

help to penetrate the mist of ages, and to have a glimpse of a remote past of which every thing else is lost. In spite of these defects however they present us with something tangible as regards the history of the past. They give us an account of Northern India, its peoples, its ruling families, their wars, their political and social life, which cannot be found elsewhere.

This account of the great war and the events preceding it are based on traditions. We must utilize these traditions which present us with the account of the political condition of Northern India for yielding materials for the reconstruction of the history of the time.

Now the question arises, to which period the traditional account may be taken to refer. If we trace back the great names of the Mahābhārata we find them mentioned in works of the later Vedic period. In some cases they go earlier. Thus Devāpi and Śantanu are names occurring in the R̥k hymns.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is an historical personage and his name is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, who plays so prominent a part in the Epic, is a name that occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* where he is described as a disciple of Ghora Āṅgīrasa. Arjuna, too, is mentioned both in the *Vājsaneyi Saṃhitā* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Janamejaya Pāriṣita finds place both in the 11th and the 13th kāṇḍas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in connection with his Aśvamedha to expiate for brahmahatyā.

From all these we may infer that the account of the Mahābhārata refers to a portion of the later Vedic age. This view gets confirmation when we compare the social and political condition found in the Epic with that found in the later Vedic hymns. In both we find the existence of a comparatively archaic society. In both we find social customs which became obsolete in subsequent ages. In both we have pictures of simpler political institutions—the small city-state, the ruling tribe or state of moderate size—both speaking

of the supremacy of the popular will. All appear to tally with this difference that the account of the Mahābhārata is a little more tintured with poetic imagination.

That such a traditional account of the Vedas existed in very early times is proved by subsequent evidence furnished by our literature. We have repeated references to the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas of which the Mahābhārata is the pre-eminent representative. Next the *Īśedāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* mentions the Bhārata and Mahābhārata. Again the Sūtras of Pāṇini speak of Vasudeva, Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira and the Vṛṣṇis; as also of Droṇa, Hastinapura and the word Mahābhārata though its meaning is disputed (see Weber, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, p 185).

In the 4th century B. C. we find mention in the Arthaśāstra of all the principal personages and the heroes of the great Epic. Thus the *Arthaśāstra* speaks not only of Janamejaya, Yudhiṣṭhira, Duryodhana but refers also to the dice play between Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana and also reminds one of Nala and his downfall caused by his addiction to same. It accords it a high place and probably gives it the high position of a fifth Veda—the Itihāsa Veda. (*Samavayajurvedastrayastraya. Atharvavedetihasa-vedauca vedah*).

It refers to the downfall of the Vṛṣṇi-saṅgha¹ through the arrogance of the Yadavas towards Dvaipāyana, and mentions in the chapter on *indriya-jaya* some more names which are found in the great Epic.

From a consideration of the above facts we may come to the conclusion that a traditional account of the happenings on the eve of the Great War existed and by the

1. In regard to the downfall of the Vṛṣṇis, Kauṭilya mentions Dvaipāyana as the offended sage. This account does not tally with the names of the insulted sages given in the Mahābhārata. Kauṭilya's account thus agrees in this respect with the tradition recorded in the Ghaṭa Jataka.

sixth and seventh centuries, this traditional account had received a shape which did not materially differ from the account which we now have.

The main outlines of this traditional history centered round the Great War, which took place approximately about the 15th century before the Christian era. This date is obtained from the general testimony of the Purāṇas, which are almost unanimous in holding that a period of 1000 years (1013 according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*) elapsed between the birth of Parīkṣit and the inauguration of the Nandas. The same date is obtained from the calculations based on the astronomical data furnished by the *Udyoga-parva* and some other portions of the epic and also from similar calculations. The late Mr. U. C. Vāṭavyāla calculated the date of Vyāsa Pārāśara on this basis, and taking the Mahābhārata to represent the traditional history of the Vedic period, he made approximate calculations about the dates of Śaunaka and Sudās.

The traditional accounts underwent modification at the hands of the later compilers. In spite of all this, however, the state of political condition or social condition depicted in it has not undergone any considerable modernisation, and anyone who carefully goes through the Mahābhārata is sure to find in it a picture of an archaic society as it existed in the days to which they are supposed to belong.

The object of this paper is to study the Mahābhārata from the point of view of the political condition described in it, the constitution of the various states, and the general state of Indian politics in those days, with a view to an enquiry into the nature of early Indian constitutions and the share of the people in politics.

The instances which will be cited from the epic will go to prove the extent of the share of the people in the government of those days. The evidence cited will clearly show (1) that all the kings of the Kuru line from the father of Śāntanu to Janamejaya ascended the throne with the

approval of the people ; (2) the people interfered in matters of succession, and we have in the Epic at least two instances of succession being changed at the instance of the people ; (3) one instance of a king being exiled by the citizens who approach another prince and wish to choose him ; (4) that even when a king handed over his regal authority to another, it required the approval of the people ; (5) that kings feared to commit arbitrary acts lest the people brought him to book.

Other states of the central region.

So far for the Kuru state. We have no account of the other states which existed in Northern India, but we may at least infer that a similar state of affairs existed in some of the states in the Madhya deśa---at least in the kingdoms of Virāṭa and Drupada, where the sabhā met regularly¹.

(To be continued)

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEE

1 No details are found about the other states. In the case of Virāṭa we have the story (*Virāṭa parva*, Ch. VI) of his sabhā, where we find the Jānapadas assembled at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's entering it. After Yudhiṣṭhira gives out that he was a brahmana and an expert in dice-play, the king of the Matsyas gives him protection and he is appointed a companion of the king. Curiously enough this is proclaimed to the Jānapadas in the following terms :—

Virāṭa uvāca,—

Hanyāmaśyaṃ yadi te'priyaṃ caret pravrajayeyaṃ viṣayād
dvijānastathā.
Śṛṇvantu me jānapadāḥ samāgatā kauko yathāhaṃ viṣaye
prabhustathā.

The same thing happened elsewhere. The Sabhā existed and there the people had free access and expressed their opinion.

Etymologies of *kubbā*, *√lagh-*, *√cagh-*, *gevayā*, and *Lāghulo* (in the inscriptions of Aśoka)

The etymologies proposed for *kubbā* (Bar. I, 2 ; II, 3 ; III, 3), *laghantī* (DS. IV, 8 ; R. IV, 17 ; M. IV, 20 ; RM. IV, 15) and *caghantī* (DS. IV, 10 ; DM. IV, 2 ; R. IV, 18 ; M. IV, 21 ; RM. IV, 16), *caghatī* (DS. IV, 11 ; R. IV, 18 ; M. IV, 22) and *caghattha* (Dh. Border Edict II, 11 ; *ibid.* Edict I, 19 ; J. Border Edict II, 16), as also for *gevayā* (DS. I, 7 ; A. I, 3 ; R. I, 3 ; M. I, 5 ; RM. I, 4) and *Lāghula* (Bhabra 5) do not seem to be satisfactory. *Kubbā*=*guhā*, according to Smart (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 33, 403). This derivation seems to have been accepted by all perhaps on the ground of the similarity of meaning. The derivation of Pāli and Prākṛt 'bh' from Skt. 'h' is impossible. Where we find 'bh' in Pāli and Prākṛt in place of Skt. 'h', it either represents an original old Indic 'bh'¹ or 'gh'². Then there is the change of Skt. 'g' to 'k'. Though this is not impossible, there is no other instance in the Aśoka inscriptions. *Kubha* may be derived from an old Indic *guhā*, whence Hindi *gūphā*, Old Bengali *gophā*, Oriya *gumpha*, or it may be an Old Indic word

1. Wo im Innern eines Worts zwischen vocalen für h des Skt. eine Aspirata erscheint ist darin keine "Vergrößerung" der h zu sehen, sondern der ältere Lautbestand (Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Sprachen*, para. 260). It sometimes returns to its original medial aspirate and this gives us Pāli forms which are older than the corresponding ones in Sanskrit (Müller, *Pāli Gram.* p. 34).

2. Bh verhält sich zu ursprünglichem gh, gh wie v zu k, g, d, h, es liegt. Wandel von Gutturalen in Labiale vor (Pischel, para. 260). I, however, differ from Pischel in deriving *bubbhāi*, *dubbhāi*, *libbhāi*, from *√vabh-*, *√dabh-*, *√libh-* (for Skt. √vāh-, √duh-, √lih-; Hr. √vāzh-, √dujh-, √lih-; IE √uagh-, √duhgh-, √ligh-). They may be derived from *vuhvate*, *dahvate*, *lihvate*, popular forms for Skt. *uhyate*, *duhyate*, *lihyate*. Müller derives Pāli *dubbhate*, from Skt. *√druh-*. It may be derived from Skt. *√dabh* through contamination with *√druh-*.

cognate with Old Eng. *cofa* 'a cave', Old Persian *kaufa* 'a mountain', representing i. e. *khubhā*, Skt. *kuhara* for *kubhara* (Cf. Vedic *kakaha* and *kakubha*, \sqrt{grbh} and \sqrt{grh} , \sqrt{bhr} and \sqrt{hr}) may be a doublet of this *kubhā*. Cf. also *śikhā* and *śikhara*.

Senart's suggestion to read *caghamṭi* for *laghamṭi* has been rightly rejected. Bühler derives it from Skt. \sqrt{ramh} . But in that case the form would have been *laṃghamṭi*. It comes from Skt. $\sqrt{lakṣ}$ 'to aim at'. Thus *lakṣ* 7 *lakṣh* 7 *laggh*, which last would of course be written in the Aśoka Inscriptions as *lagh*. From *lakṣ-* to *lagh-*, there are two stages of sound change; first, from 'kṣ' to 'kh' and secondly, from 'kh' to 'gh'. This is similar to the change of Skt. 'kṣ' to 'h' through 'kh' in Ardha-Māgadhī and Jaina Māgadhī; e. g. AMg. JM. *seha-* Pālī *sekha* —Skt. *śaikṣa*¹. We may also compare Skt. *ākhyāpayati* —Pālī *akkhāpeti* —AMg. *āghāvei*; Skt. *nikṣa-* Pkt. *nikhasa* —M. *ṇihasa* —AMg. *ṇighasa*². As for Skt. 'kṣ' = 'kh' in the Aśoka Inscriptions, we may compare *palikkhā* (=Skt. *parikṣā*, Pillar Edict 1), *cakhu* (=Skt. *cakṣuṣ*, *Ibid.* 11), *pakhi* (=Skt. *pakṣi-*, *Ibid.*), *pakhā* (=Skt. *pakṣā* *Ibid.* 11). As for the change of earlier 'kh' to 'gh', we have in the inscriptions instances of mediae for Skt. tenues; e. g. *logam* (J. Border Edict 1), *ajalā* (Dh. Border Edict 11), *valikā* (Queen's Edict 3), *dose* (Khalsi iv, 19) *hida-* (Khalsi v, 15), *lilī* (Delhi vii-viii, 10, 11). In the Monumental Prakṛt we have specific instances of 'gh' for Skt. 'kh'; e. g. *sugha*³ (=Skt. *sukha*, Karle 22, Kanheri 15, 28), *mugha* (=Skt. *mukha*, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 29, Nos. 4, 6), *Magha-deva* [Plate XLVIII (2) Bharhut stūpa] for *Makhā-deva* (Jātaka no. 9 etc.).

As for $\sqrt{cagh-}$ Senart conjectured its derivation from

1 Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Sprachen*, para. 323.

2 *Ibid.* paras. 202, 203. 3 *Inscr. de Piyadasi*, II, 489.

jāgrati (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 33). He, however, is not satisfied with the derivation. He says, "S'il bien = jagr, ce qui est douteux" (*Ibid.* p. 375). Kern compared it with Hindustani *cāhnā*. But he could not give any earlier form. I propose to derive *√cagh-* from Skt. *cakṣ-*. From this *√cakṣ-* is derived Hindi, Bengali, etc. *√cūh-* 'to look, to desire'. We may compare Pkt. *dāhiṇa*, Bengali *ḍāin*, Hindi *dāhnā* etc. from Skt. *dakṣiṇa* through Pkt. *dakkhiṇa*. Pischel derives *caghati* = *cakhati* = *cakati* = Skt. *takati* from *√tak-* 'to bear' (*Gram.* § 465). But this meaning can hardly suit *caghati*. Wackernagel believes *√cagh-* to be original and compares it with Greek *tekhnā* (*Altindische Gram.* note 9, p. xx).

Burnouf derives *gavaya* from Skt. *grāmya*. Senart approves of this etymology (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 7). But phonetically it is impossible to accept it. It may be derived from Skt. *gavaya*. In Skt., *gavaya* means 'an animal like the cow'. But Bengali *gabā* which is clearly derived from Skt. means 'a dullard'. This meaning fits here.

As for *Lāghula*, though it is well-known to be equivalent to Pāli *Rāhula*, no etymology seems to have been attempted to explain it. Of course we cannot derive 'gh' from 'l' (Vide foot-note 1). I propose to derive *Lāghula* from popular Skt. *Rāghula* a doublet of Skt. (Classical) *Rāghila* derived from *Rāghava* with the suffix 'ila'¹ 'to denote pity'². *Rāghila* and *Rāghula* seem to have been forms of pet names for one whose name was *Rāghava*. Pāli *Rāhula* is a later formation than *Lāghula*. Cf. Pāli *Vāsula-dattā* for Skt. *Vāsava-dattā*. *Rāhula* is explained by *bandhana*, a 'bond fetter, impediment' (Anderson's *Pāli Glossary*, p. 219).

M. SHAHIDULLAH

¹ Ghan-ilacau ca. *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 79.

² Anukampāyām, *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 76.

The Bhāsa Problem

I. Introduction

The publication of a drama under the title Svapnavāsavadatta, and the consequent resuscitation of the ancient dramatist, Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, burst upon Sanskritists like a flash of lightning. So glorious and dazzling the so-called discovery appeared that it was everywhere looked upon as the greatest literary find of the century, and scholars, with the one honourable exception of Dr. L. D. Barnett, London, eagerly accepted the fundamental conclusions of Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, the learned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. If they have not subjected his conclusions to a critical evaluation, it is probably because they could not command the requisite materials for same. For these materials can be had only from a critical study of the nature and sources of the Kerala Sanskrit theatre and of the dramas as preserved in Kerala manuscripts. And these a non-Malayalee cannot easily gain access to, since the custodians of these, the cākyārs, the local professional actors, guard them so jealously that they are not prepared to show them, either for love or for money, even to their intimate friends, and since the temple theatre, where alone is the Sanskrit drama acted in the orthodox fashion, forbids entry to all but caste Hindus. An eloquent proof of the general inaccessibility of these materials is furnished by the editor himself; for, otherwise, he could not have set up such a theory and maintained it so consistently, unless one is prepared to argue that he is suppressing evidence for the sake of his theory. Such being the case, there is nothing to be wondered at, if scholars outside Kerala have silently accepted the editor's main conclusions. As a Malayalee who has had many opportunities to witness the staging of the Sanskrit dramas in the orthodox method and to gain a few

peeps into the sources of our stage, as a student of Sanskrit literature, who has facilities to study the more important Sanskrit dramas, and especially those, now included in the famous *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra* in original Malayalee manuscripts, I have been able to gain some materials to clear up this riddle. The more important of the conclusions I have arrived at from these materials are presented in this paper.

II. *The Bhāsa theory*

The acquisition of a drama, later published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the title *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, led the editor to postulate the Bhāsa theory. This theory and all that it stands for rest upon two fundamental conclusions : (1) that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, has written a drama, named *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* ; (2) that the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* referred to and quoted from by ancient writers is identical with the text published under that name. The validity of the theory, therefore, depends upon the validity of the materials from which these conclusions have been drawn.

A. *Bhāsa's authorship of a Svapna-Vāsavadatta*

The only evidence, brought forward by the editor and his adherents in support of the ancient Bhāsa's authorship of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, is the statement of Rājaśekhara, as contained in the verse :

Bhāsanāṭakacakre'pi chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum,
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako'bhūn na pāvakaḥ.

This statement by itself and detached from its context may be held to prove that Bhāsa is the author of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. But, when read with the context, the authorship of the drama is to be assigned *not to the Bhāsa but a Bhāsa*. To elucidate discussion the context¹ is given below :

1 The verses are found in *Kavi Vimarṣa*, which is ascribed to Rājaśekhara.

“kāraṇaṃ tu kavītvasya na sampan na kulīnatā,
 Dhāvako’pi hi yad Bhāsaḥ kavīnāṃ agrimo’bhavat.
 ādau Bhāsenā racitā nāṭikā Priyadarsīkā,

 tasya Ratnāvalī nūnaṃ ratnamāleṇa rājate,
 Daśarupaka-kāminīyā vakṣasyatyantaśobhanā.
 Nāgānandaṃ samālokyā yasya Śrīharṣavikramaḥ,
 amandānandabharitaḥ svasabhyam akarot kavim.
 Udāttarāghavaṃ nūnaṃ udāttarasagumphitam,
 yad vīkṣya Bhavabhūtyādyāḥ praṇīnyur nāṭakānī vai.
 śokaṇyavāsannāsyā navāṅkakiraṇāvalī,
 mākaṇḍasyeva kasyātra pradadāti na nirvṛtim.
 Bhāsa-nāṭakacakre’pi chekaṇī kṣipte parīkṣitum,
 Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako’bhūn na pāvakaḥ”.

A study of this quotation will convince even the casual reader that Rājaśekhara is by no means quite a reliable authority. He is evidently wrong in assigning the authorship of Priyadarsīkā, Ratnāvalī and Nāgānanda to Bhāsa and so *may be wrong* as regards the authorship of Svapna-Vāsavadatta. Hence the value of a tradition alone can be given to the statement. Secondly, and what is more important in the present discussion, Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, has no place in this quotation. Rājaśekhara explicitly says that his Bhāsa, a washerman by caste, was honoured by Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj and made a courtier of his. He cannot surely be identified with the pre-Kālidāsa dramatist. And according to Rājaśekhara, it is this neo-Bhāsa who has written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. Hence Rājaśekhara’s statement, *by itself*, cannot justify the conclusion that the ancient Bhāsa has written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. If, again, the Bhāsites shift their position and stick to their conclusion on the strength of the authority of the statement, ‘yathā Bhāsaḥ Svapna-Vāsavadatte’ found in the Nāṭya Darpaṇa¹,

¹ Prof. Sylvain Lévi’s analysis of the same. Vide *J.A.*, Oct.-Dec., 1923, pp. 193 ff.

still the conclusion stands on very weak grounds, for the identity of this Bhāsa with the ancient Bhāsa has yet to be established. And since, so far as we know, this has not been done, we are forced to conclude that on the evidence now available, one is not justified to come to the conclusion that the editor has arrived at. Hence the first of his conclusions stands on exceedingly flimsy grounds.

B. The genuineness of the published text

The second of the conclusions that the text represents the genuine Svapna-Vāsavadatta is still less valid. Such is the inference one is forced to draw after a study of the references to, and quotation from the genuine text. These are five in number : (1) Amaraṭīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda ; (2) Locana of Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya ; (3) Nāṭya-darpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra ; (4) Bhāva Prakāśa of Śāradaṭānaya¹, and (5) Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratnaḥ of Sāgarānandin².

I. Sarvānanda in illustrating the three different kinds of Śṛṅgāra says : trividhaḥ śṛṅgāraḥ dharmārthakāmabhinnah, tatrūḍyo yathā Nandayantyām brāhmaṇabhojanam, dvitīyaḥ svadīśamātmasāt kartum Udayanasya Padmāvatī-pariṇayo' tthaśṛṅgāraḥ, tṛtīyaḥ Svapnavāsavadatte tasyaiva Vāsavadattā-pariṇayaḥ³.

This is the original statement and it is absolutely clear and void of all ambiguity. The drama named Svapna-Vāsavadatta, Sarvānanda explicitly says, deals with the love-marriage of Vāsavadattā. Not satisfied with this straightforward interpretation, the learned editor, moved probably by a desire to find a support in this for his theory, suggests and adopts the transposition of the words 'tṛtīyaḥ' and 'Svapna-Vāsavadatte'⁴. One cannot endorse such an uncalled for pruning

1 An unpublished treatise on dramaturgy, vide p. 108, note 2.

2 Prof. Sylvain Levi, *op. cit.*

3 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 145.

4 Introduction to Svapna-Vasavadatta, 1916, p. 5.

by editorial scissors, even for the noble purpose of reviving the ancient Bhāsa, much less a neo-Bhāsa. Since the editor's text of Svapna-Vāsavadatta deals with the political marriage of Padmāvatī, it may safely be asserted that Sarvānanda's and the editor's texts are entirely distinct and different. Hence the published text cannot and does not represent the genuine text of Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to by Sarvānanda.

ii. Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya in his *Locana* quotes a verse from Svapna-Vāsavadatta, which runs thus :—

sañcitapakṣmakavātaṃ nayanadvāram iti

The editor is of opinion that this verse cannot find a place in his Svapna-Vāsavadatta and therefore concludes that Abhinava Gupta the most scrupulously careful writer is wrong in assigning this verse to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. One may concede that he is right in his opinion ; but this does not mean that one must necessarily accept his conclusion. If this verse cannot find a suitable context in his Svapna-Vāsavadatta, it only means that *Gupta is quoting from another Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. Since, according to the editor, this verse can find a place only in the wooing of Vāsavadattā, and since Śarvānanda's Svapna-Vāsavadatta deals with this incident, the legitimate conclusion is that Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya's and Śarvānanda's texts are one and the same. If this inference is correct, then it becomes a further proof that the editor's Svapna-Vāsavadatta has nothing to do with the text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta known to Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya and Sarvānanda.

iii. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra refer to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta by a Bhāsa in the following context in their Nāṭya-Darpaṇa :

yathā Bhāsa kṛte Svapna-Vāsavadatte Śephālikāmaṇḍapaśilātalam avalokya Śrī Vatsarājaḥ.

According to Prof. Sylvain Lévi, neither the verse nor the situation can find a suitable context in the editor's Svapna-Vāsavadatta. These authors also may, therefore, be quoting

from the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, familiar to Abhinava Gupta Pādācūrya and Sarvānanda.

The references and quotations, found in the three works given above, show that Svapna-Vāsavadatta, known to their authors, is quite distinct from the Svapna-Vāsavadatta edited in the Trivandrum Series.

iv. Sāgaranandin in his Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratnakosa refers to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta in the following passage :

nepathye Sūtradhārāḥ¹ (utsāraṇaṃ śrutvā paṭhati) aye katham tapovane'pyutsāraṇā. (vilokya) katham mantri Yaugandharāyaṇaḥ Vatsarājasya rājyapratyāyananaṃ kartukāmaḥ.

The Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to here, evidently has something in common with Trivandrum text. But since what is quoted is not found in the latter, it cannot be said to represent the genuine text.

v. Śāradātanaya refers to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta in his Bhāva-Prakāśa.² The context in which the reference occurs is given below :

1 Evidently there appears to be an omission. Before Sūtradhāra there must be some sentence.

2 The author of the work Bhāva Prakāśa is Śāradātanaya, son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla whose grandfather is mentioned to have written a Veda Bhāṣya, named Veda Bhūṣaṇam. A resident of Benares, he was like his father a staunch devotee of the goddess Śāradāmbal. During one Caitra festival he happened to witness thirty different kinds of plays staged. Being then moved by a desire to study Nāṭya Veda he became a disciple of one Divakara, the then master of the concert hall, and studied under him all the ancient works of dramaturgy, by Śiva, Gaurī, Brahma, Hanumān, and Bharata and his disciples. Then he wrote Bhāva-Prakāśa for the guidance of the actors, which purports to contain the essence of all the works on the subject. The work is divided into ten chapters and a cursory glance through it has enabled me to come across themes of certain unknown dramatists, such as Kohala, Drauhini, Matrīgupta, Śākuka, and of some dramas, so far unheard of, such as Mārīca Vañcitam in five acts; Naṭavikramam, in eight acts; Devī Pariṇayam in nine acts ; Menaka Nahuṣam in nine

prasāntarasabhūyist' am Prasāntam nāma nāṭakam,
 nyāso nyāsasamudbhedo bhījoktir bhījadarsanam,
 tato'nudiṣṭasamhārah prasāntaḥ prānirābhāṣaḥ,
 sātvaṭi vṛttir atra syād iti Drauhinir abravīt.
 Svapnavāsavadattākhyam udāharāṇam atra tu,
 ācchidya bhūpāt samyak sū devī Māgadrikā kare.
 nyastā yatas tato nyāso mukhasandhīr ayam bhavet,
 nyāsasya ca pratimukhaṃ samudbheda udāhṛtaḥ.
 Padmāvatyā mukhaṃ vīkṣya viśeṣakavibhūṣitam,
 jīvaty Avantiketi jñānam bhūmibhujo yathā.
 utkaṇṭhiteṇa sodvegāṃ bhījoktir bhījadarsanam,
 ehi Vāsavadatteti kva yāsītyādi dr̥ṣyate.
 sabhāvasthītayor ekaprāptyā nyasya gavesaṇam,
 darśanasparśnā¹ chāpār etat syāt bhījadarsanam.
 ciraprasuptaḥ kāmo me vīṇayā pratibodhitāḥ,
 tūṃ tu devīm na paśyāmi yasyā ghoṣavati priyā
 kim te bhūyaḥ priyaṃ kāryam iti vāg atra nocyate,
 tato' nudiṣṭasamhāram ityā hur Bharatādayaḥ.

The text of the Trivandrum edition has much in common with the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to by Śaradātanaya. But yet the two, it is evident, are not identical. Thus Padmāvatī's adorning herself with a beautiful *tilaka*, the king seeing it, his exclamation, 'alive is Vāsavadattā,' his ravings in the excess of love sickness, 'come, Vāsavadattā,' 'where dost thou go?' these are not found in the published text. This is enough evidence to prove that the latter is not genuine. If

acts; Ramānanda; Sitāpaharaṇam; Kṛtya Rāvaṇam; Gaurī Gṛham; all regular Nāṭakas. Amongst Prahasanas are mentioned Saubhadrika, Sāgar Kaumudī, Kalikeli; amongst Dīmas, Tripuradāham, Vṛtroddharaṇam and Tārakoddharaṇam. Other names of works and persons also there are in the work which shall be set forth on a future occasion. The work is written throughout in poetry, simple and elegant, and touches upon every department of dramaturgy. Since the author quotes from Mammaṭa, he could not have lived earlier than the twelfth century. Probably he may have to be brought down to a still later age.

1 The manuscript reads 'sparśanair etat'. This is evidently wrong.

anything more is needed to justify such a conclusion, that is supplied by Śāradātanaya's remarks on Prastāvanā. He says that Kathū-Sūtradhāra enters only after the Nandi-Sūtradhāra has left the stage, but never mentions of a drama opened by the former. He details the various items to be mentioned in the Prologue, but has no exception to, or deviations from, the general rule to point out. He remarks that Prastāvanā may as well be termed Āmukha, but does not suggest Sthāpana as an alternative. The dramaturgist who is so familiar with the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, as the above quotation shows, cannot surely pass over its Prastāvanā, if it had any peculiarity. This absence of comment eloquently confirms the fact that the genuine Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the Trivandrum text are not identical. Hence the evidence of Bhāva-Prakāśa also is against the editor's contention that his text is genuine¹.

Thus the references to the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, made by Sāgaranandin and Śāradātanaya, show that while the Trivandrum edition has much in common with their Svapna-Vāsavadatta, the two cannot be said to be identical. We incline to the opinion that the Trivandrum text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta is only a playwright's adaptation of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta known to Śāradātanaya.

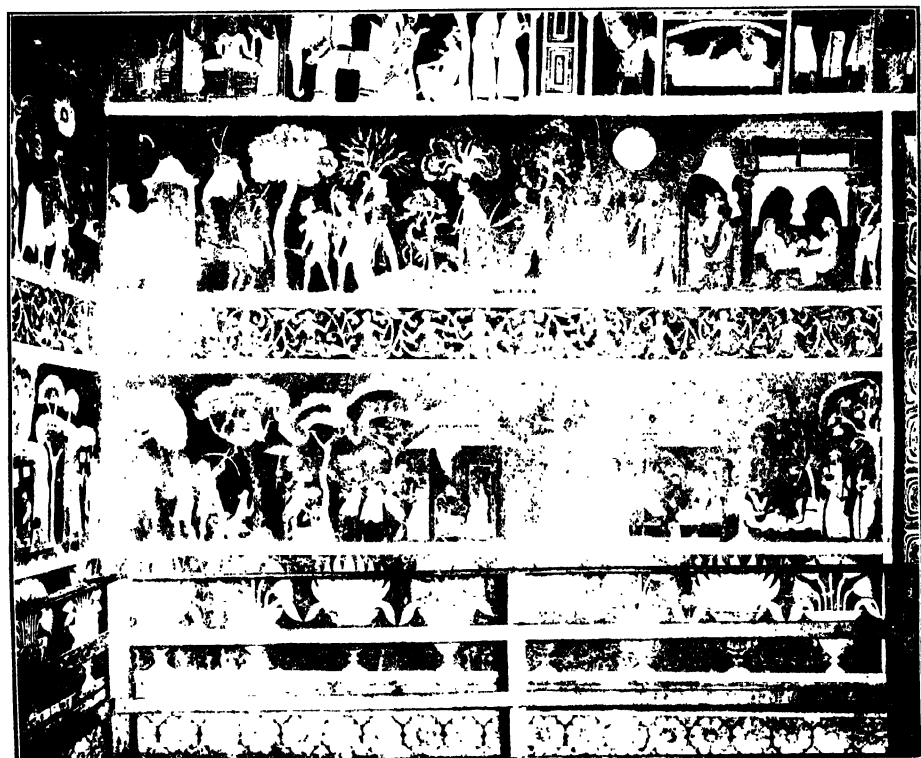
On the strength of the evidence furnished by the five works, quoted from, in the preceding paragraphs, it can be asserted that the second of the editor's conclusions also is invalid.

The consideration of this aspect of the problem has revealed the fact that there are two well-known Svapna-Vāsavadattas, one referred to in Amara-tīkā-sarvasva and Nāṭya Darpaṇa, delineating the love-marriage of Vāsavadattā, and the other, referred to in the Bhāva-Prakāśa, describing the political marriage of Padmāvatī. It has already been

1 The same conclusion has been arrived at in the paper 'Bhāsa's Works. Are they genuine?' written in collaboration with Mr. A. K. Pisharoti of Trivandrum and published in *B. O. S.*, London.



Figs. 1, 3, 4. — Sama, Vessantara und Kinnari-epiken.



pointed out that there are two Bhāṣas. These and a Bhāṣa's relation to the first Svapna-Vāsavadatta are the interesting literary problems which have arisen as a result of the foregoing consideration.

Going back to the main subject. In view of the fact that the ancient Bhāṣa could not even be supposed to have written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta, much less the Triv. text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and in view of the fact that this latter has been proved to be spurious, the theory of Bhāṣa—ancient Bhāṣa—resolves itself into a myth, pure and simple. And, therefore all that has been written about the antiquity of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the other twelve dramas of the series, pompously styled “Bhāṣa-Nāṭaka Cakra” deserves to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion.

(To be continued)

K. R. PISHAROTI

Some Wall-Paintings from Kelaniya

Ceylon preserved in its wall-paintings the traditions of early Indian art up to the nineteenth century. Its vihāras contain examples of Buddhist paintings which, with regard to their subject-matter as well as their forms, are direct descendants of the practice of art during the Śuṅga period in India, of which apart from the scanty traces of wall-painting in the Jogimara cave, no pictorial rendering has been preserved, whereas the reliefs on the

railing of the Barhut stūpa are the most instructive and serene representations.

Buddhism in Ceylon being a living faith, the Jātakas remain vivid instances of popular appeal and their incidents appear to take place in contemporary buildings, and their heroes and saints are dressed in the Ceylonese fashion and at times also in English uniform, although in no other Vihāra than that in Kelaniya which is only a few miles off Colombo. The Jātakas are arranged in broad, horizontal bands ; they are depicted in continuous narration all along the walls of the Vihāra-halls. They are divided from one another by narrow ornamental designs or by plain stripes of colour on which the names of the Jātakas are inscribed. The selections of these Jātaka scenes, as in olden times, were made by the donor and by the artist. Those painted in Kelaniya are the Sāma-jātaka (fig. 1) which tells how the Bodhisattva, who in a miraculous way was born to his blind ascetic parents, went to the forest to gather food. He was noticed by a king on the shore of the Migasammata, who wanted to make sure whether he was a god or a nāga and for that purpose the king shot him to death. The goddess Bahusodari, who in a former existence had been the mother of the Great Being, determined to bring him back to life, and thus she invisibly appears in the sky over the water, while the king himself leads the blind parents to their dead son. The goddess and the mother bring Sāma back to life, for the gods themselves cure him who honours his parents.

In the Mahākapha Jātaka (fig. 2) Indra changes the god Mātali into a big, black hound, in order to frighten mankind which had fallen into sin. The dog threatens to kill all culprits but Indra with him rises into the air and promulgates Dhamma.

The Vessantara Jātaka (fig. 3) tells of the Bodhisattva's limitless largess ; he gives away the wondrous elephant and later on even his own children, but all ends well and the prince returns at the end from the seclusion of



Fig. 5. Mura attacks Buddha



the forest into his royal home. The Caṇḍa-kinnara Jātaka (fig. 4) praises the loyalty of the beautiful kinnarī, who succeeded in resuscitating the dead kinnara¹.

Belief in miracles, Buddhist self-abnegation and civic virtues are mixed in these child-like legends and are represented as taking place under the heavy foliage of ever-green trees. From the life itself of Buddha, the moment of the temptation and illumination is selected (fig. 5). That the Earth is called to witness is suggested by the figure of Mihikata, who emerges from the ground. In the top-most row the various Buddhas are enthroned, while on the side-walls the figures of rulers (fig. 6) or of monks are to be seen.

The doors of the broad main wall are crowned by Makara toraṇas in relief. One of them (fig. 7) frames the figure of Buddha painted on a ground covered with a pattern "without end". At the sides of the doors Nāgas are painted with floral offerings (fig. 8), and colossal Dvārapālas keep guard in high relief, richly dressed and lavishly decorated. Myth and history appear in the same juxtaposition as sculpture and painting and their union is confirmed by the rhythmic design and the colouring of the walls.

The profuse array of figures in their variegated movements is kept in order by the horizontal ornamental rows. The lowermost fig. 2 places, on the top of a lotus-rosette border familiar in India, flowerpots with lotus flowers and palm leaves, auspicious forms in a sharp alteration of light opening or closing round forms with a dark ground. A peculiarly Ceylonese device is the floral creeper, of which the flower merges into a female figure (nārī latā bhela). This fairy-tale flower is supposed to grow in the Himālayas, where it tempts many a recluse². Other ornamental devices consist of rows of four-petalled lotuses,

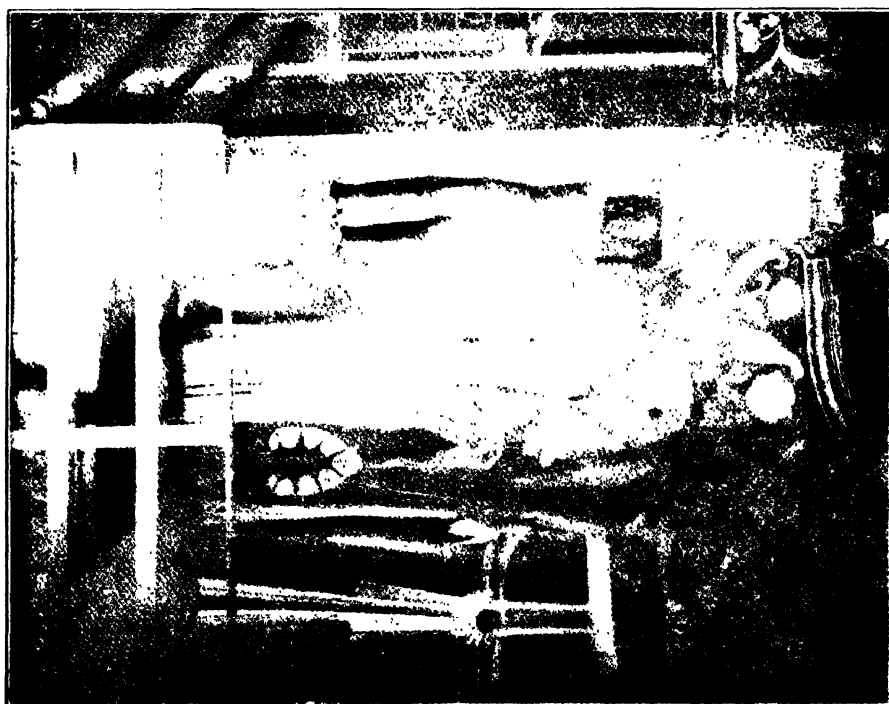
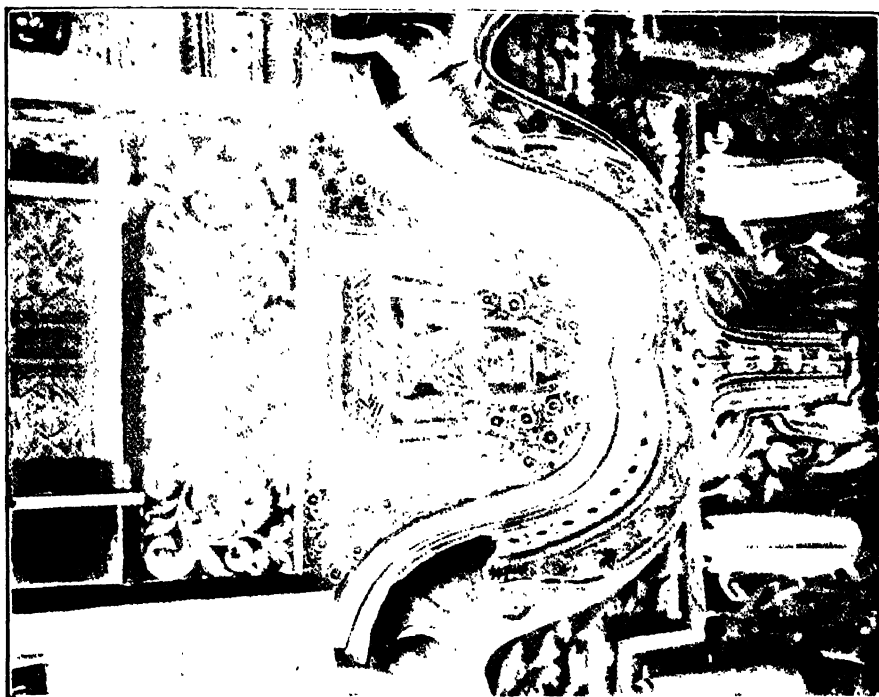
1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 92.

2 Cowell and Rouse, *Jātakam*, 540 ; 469 ; 96 ; 547 : 485.

festoons (*Mālā*) and rows of single lotus petals (*palā-peti*), the latter being especially suited for mouldings. Besides these borders, which also occur in the classical art of the West, a leafy creeper (*liya-peta*—fig. 7) frequently fills the panels akin to and most probably derived from the *Akanthus* device. It has predecessors in India from the 2nd century A.D. onwards (Cf. *Amarāvati*). Thoroughly indigenous, however, is the infinite surface-filling pattern with scattered rotating circles consisting of slight suggestions of foliage and flowers on a dark ground (*picca mala*—fig. 7).

The most remarkable representations, from the artistic point of view, are on the rectangular panels of the ceiling. They are surrounded by festoons: Some of them contain the well-known “life-tree” device, with many branches, with birds on them and deer and men beneath, akin to the “life-tree” printed on Palampores at Masulipatam. But of the two remaining rectangular ceiling panels with their partitions marked by painted beams, the one contains the figures of the rulers of the eight directions of the world (fig. 9), which, if read from right to left and in horizontal rows around the central figure, are to represent Agni, the ruler of the South-east, Nairitya of the South, Yāmya of the South-west, Indra of the East, Varuṇya of the West, Īśāna of the North-east, Saumya, of the North, and Vāyavya of the North-west, whereby the southern direction occupies the uppermost third of the picture. The other rectangular panel (fig. 10) contains the signs of the Zodiac (starting from the middle of the lowermost row towards the right), Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Mithuna, Karkāṭa, Siṃha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha, and Mīna, round the figures of sun and moon on a ground of stars.

The technique of these paintings is a sort of tempera. The wall is first covered with a layer of caoline which then is laid over with magnesit. The outlines then are drawn with a thin brush in black colour, the inner portions of the figures are left white, whereas the



background is touched up with crimson. The outlines finally are filled with yellow colour, whereas the ground is covered with alternate layers of crimson and red, until at last it gets a deep glowing and clear red colour. The colours that produce the saturated yet bright effect of these paintings are cinnabar-red, yellow, magnesit-white and lamp-black. Indigo-blue is rarely used, as well as green and the lighter shades of the colours enumerated, mixed with white.¹

Nowhere in these paintings is a trace of the tradition of painting as practised in Ajanta or in the closely allied Sigiriya. Though of a very late date, they are, as mentioned already, connected with the Śunga period of Indian Art. But although the special formulæ and the treatment of the surface are of early Indian extraction, the pointed angularity within a curvilinear treatment, in its clear cut but also petty orderliness is due to Ceylonese taste. It replaces the heavy flow of the round line of India by curt and decisive outlines. Upright, slender figures appear in shy and short rhythms within and outside the open and thin houses of Ajanta-like dimensions. Their movements, the way in which they go and bend, have a deliberate gracefulness due to courtly refinement, their eyes, wide open and gentle, but glanceless do not betray anything of their inner life. Their tightly fitting garments have a light charm of flowery suppleness. Even the demoniacal retinue of Māra is graceful in its gentleness and we witness an official call instead of a scene of temptation. Carriages of the nineteenth century with their horses are rendered with reserve, so that they almost appear at a historical distance, as little actual and contemporary as the big Hamsas whose flight between the broadly daubed tops of the trees seems once for ever to remain in hovering restfulness. Even today the artistic output of Ceylon, e. g. in Kandy, absorbs impressions of Western civilised life without imitating its artistic means

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, loc. cit., pp. 164ff.

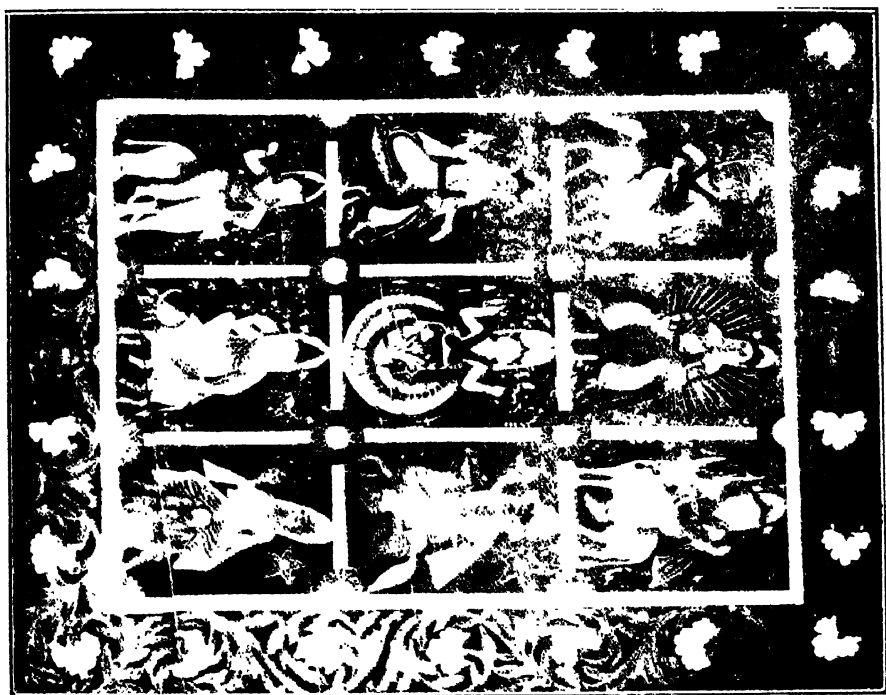
and introduces into a pageant of Ceylonese forest scenes and processions of elephants some motor cars, which being embossed in brass in a peculiarly Ceylonese mannerism have nothing jarring. This proves how strong the feeling for indigenous "form" is and what potent power tradition is in preserving that feeling. For this reason also, one of the most ancient methods of figure composition, the horizontal arrangement in rows, so well-known from the earliest Egyptian and Mediterranean practice has survived up to this day.

Enriched by the delight in ornaments and decoration the wall paintings appear at their best around the huge figures in relief of colossal Dvārapālas (fig. 8). Leaves and flowers, incredibly soft, ramble in a broad and yet almost flaming lassitude weighed down neither by fruits nor birds—suddenly beginning, suddenly at an end and are the frame of the nāga figure with its high snake crown and its wide open eyes.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

Pāvāpurī and its Temple Prasāsti

Pāvāpurī (the ancient town of Pāpā) is only a small village of about 300 houses mostly of Bhūmihār Brāhmaṇas. It is situated about 7 miles south of Bihar in the district of Patna. To the Jainas, it is associated with sacred memories. For it was here that their last (the 24th) Tīrthanāra Lord Mahāvīra cast off his mortal body and attained *Nirvāṇa* nearly 2500 years ago (527 B. C.). The old text tells us that Pāvāpurī was then the capital of a local chief Hastipāla, and Mahāvīra in his 72nd year was passing the rainy season there in an old Writers' Hall. It was towards the last part of the night of the new-moon day of the month of Kārtika that Lord Mahāvīra renounced the world. We learn from the



Jaina legends that a *stūpa* was built at the place by the gods who came there to celebrate the event and a temple was also built in commemoration by king Nandivardhana. On the same site stands the present temple which contains both the foot-prints and the image of the Tīrthaṅkara which are worshipped by the followers of the sect. Outside the village towards the south lies a big tank, in the centre of which stands the temple known as Jalamandir which marks the spot where he was cremated. According to tradition, the number of people who attended the funeral ceremony was so large that the mere act of taking off a pinch of ashes by each individual created such a big cavity all round that the place soon became transformed into a tank. The foot-prints of Gautama and Sudharma, the first and fifth *gaṇadhara*s, are located in the temple with the foot-prints of Mahāvīra Svāmin in the middle. There is a stone-bridge of about 600 feet across it from the bank to the temple which is built in the shape of a *vimāna*. At the proper season of the year, the lake becomes full of blossoming lotuses making the whole scenery simply enchanting.

The dedicatory stone of Pāvāpurī temple was first discovered by me and only a portion could be deciphered at the time when my "Jaina Inscriptions, part I" was in preparation. I have, of late, been able to restore the entire stone, and the inscription is published below. The stone, which is of rough black colour, is an ordinary variety of local Magadha stone, the surface measuring about 10½ ins. by 15 ins. The inscription consists of 21 lines of Jaina script of which the letters of the first three lines are a little bigger than those of the remaining lines as will be seen in the plate. The inscription on the foot-prints of Mahāvīra in the village temple also repeats the same fact of the restoration of the tīrtha and the construction of the present temple during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān in 1641 A. D. by the Svet-āmbara Saṅgha under the guidance and advice of Jainācārya Jinarāja Sūri of Kharatara Gaccha.

TEXT

1. //Ai// Svasti śrī Saṃvati 1698 vaiśākha sudi 5 somavāsare/
pātisāha śrī Sāhijāṃha sakalanūra
2. maṇḍalādhiśvaravijayirājye// Śrīcaturviṃśatitamajinādhirāja
śrīViravarddhamāna svāmi
3. nirvāṇakalyāṇikapavitritaPāvāpurīparisare Śrīvirajinacaityani-
veśaḥ/ śrī
4. Rṣabhajīnarājaprathamaputracakravarti śrī Bharatamahārāja-
sakalamāṇtrimaṇḍalaśreṣṭhamaṇtri śrīdalasantāniya ma-
5. hatīāṇa jñātīśrīgāra Coplāgotriya saṃghanāyaka saṃghabī
Tulasīdāsa bhāryā Nihāloputra saṃ saṃgrāma/
6. laghu bhrātṛ Govarddhana Tejapāla Bhojarāja/ Rohadīya
gotriya maṇi° Paramāṇaṇḍa saparivāra Mahadhāgotriya viśeṣa-
dharmma/
7. karmmodiyama vidhāyaka ṭha° Dulicanda kādraḷāgotriya
maṇi° Madanasvāmīdāsa Manohara Kuśalā Suṇḍaradāsa Rohadīyā/
8. ṭha° Mathurādāsa Nārāyaṇadāsa Girīdhara Santādāsa Prasādī
Vartidīa go° Gūjaramalla Būḍaḷamalla Mohanadāsa/
9. Māṇikacanda Būḍamalla Jeṭhamalla ṭha° Jagana Nūricanda/
Nānharā go° ṭha° Kalyāṇamalla Malūkacanda Sabhā-
10. canda/ Saṃghelāgotriya ṭha° Siṃbhū Kīrtipāla Bābūrāya
Kesavarāya Sūratisiṃgha/ Kādraḷa go° Dayāla-
11. dāsa Bhovāladāsa Kṛpāladāsa Mīra Murāridāsa Kilū/ Kāṇā-
gotriya ṭha° Rājapāla Rāmacaṇḍa//
12. Mahadhā go° Kīrtisiṃgha Ro° Chabicanda/ Jājīyāṇa go° Maṇi°
Nathamala Nandalāla Nānhaḷāgotriya/
13. ṭha° Sundaradāsa Nāgaramalla Kamaladāsa// Ro° Sundara
Sūratī Mūrati sabala kṛti Pratāpa/ Pāhaḷiyā/
14. go° Hemarāja bhūpati/ Kāṇā go° Mohana Sukhamalla ṭha°
Gaḍhamalla jā° Haradāsa Purasottama/ Mīṇavā-
15. ṇa go° Biharīdāsa Bindu/ maha° Medantī Bhagavān Gaṛīḍadāsa
Sāhareṇpurīya Jīvaṇa/ Vajāgarā go°/
16. Malūkacanda Jūjha go° Sacalabandī Santi/ Co° go° Nara-
siṃgha Hīrā Gharamū Uttama Varddhamānapramukha śrī/
17. vihāravāstavya Mahatīyāṇasrīsaṃghena kāritāḥ tatpratīṣṭhā ca
śrībṛhat Kharatara-Gacchādhīśvara yugapradhāna śrī/
18. Jīnasīṃhā Sūri paṭṭaprabhākara yugapradhāna śrī Jīnarāja
Sūri vijayamāna gururājānāmādeśena kṛta/

19. pūrvadeśavihārair yugapradhānaśrīJinacandraSūriśiṣya śrī
Samayarājopadhyāya śiṣya bā" Abhayasundara Ga-

20. ṇi vineya śrī Kamalalābhopādhyāyair śiṣya paṇi° Labelhakirti
gaṇi paṇi° Rājahaṇsa gaṇi Devavijaya ga-

21 ṇi Thirakumāra Caraṇakumāra Meghakumāra Jivaraja, Sāṇi-
kara Jasavaṇṭa Mahājalādi śiṣyasaṇṭati saparivāryair/ Śrīh/

PURAN CHAND NAHAR

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda Kārikās

It is generally known that the *Māṇḍūkya* forms one of the ten principal Upaniṣads, and Gauḍapāda has explained it by his Kārikās or the explanatory verses, and these Kārikās together with the original Upaniṣad have again been commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, the great commentator of the *Brahma-sūtras*. This popular view must be either abandoned or modified to a great extent.

For the sake of convenience we shall first take up a question regarding the real extent of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad. In the present day we all know that it comprises only the prose passages, twelve in number¹, and the kārikās of Gauḍapāda² are mere explanation of the former, and thus these two works are different from each other. But this fact is not admitted on all hands. It is maintained by some that the Upaniṣad is composed not only of the prose passages referred to but also of the first book (*prakaraṇa*) of the of the kārikās. This view dates back at least from the time of Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of the Vedānta philosophy (1199-1278). According to him and

1 Beginning with "om ityetaḍakṣaraṃ" and ending in "ātmanāṃ ya evaṃ veda".

2 From "bahisprajño vibhurviśvaḥ" to "durdarśam iti" I, 1—IV, 100.

his followers, viz., Vyāsātīrtha and Śrīnivāsa, both the prose passages and the kārīkās included in the first book have been handed down by Varuṇa in the form of a *maṇḍūkā* “a frog”¹, the kārīkās, however, being regarded as *mantras* which are said to have been seen by Brahman, the creator², as the *Rṣi*. I have already pointed out elsewhere³ that the commentator of *Nṛsiṃhapūrvaṭāpanīya* Upaniṣad who is also known by the name of Śaṅkarācārya and identical with the author of the *Prapañcasāra*, a tāntrik work, is also of the same opinion, though he does not give any particular as to whether the *Rṣi* or the seer of the whole Upaniṣad is Varuṇa or whether the kārīkās are seen as *mantras* by Brahman, the creator. Kūranārāyaṇa, another commentator of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad belonging to the Rāmānuja school of Vedānta maintains⁴ the same view taking the kārīkās of the first book as *mantras*, which, in his opinion, too, together with the prose passages form the original Upaniṣad. Appaya Dīkṣita⁵

1 The commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* by Madhvācārya with *Śrīnivāsiya*, Kumbhakonam, pp. 2-3. In support of this he quotes the following :—

“Dhyāyan Nārāyaṇaṁ devaṁ praṇavena samāhitāḥ

Maṇḍūkarūpī Varuṇas tuṣṭāva Harim avyayam.” *Padmapurāṇa*.

“Iti Maṇḍūkarūpī san dadarśa Varuṇaḥ śrutim”. *Harivaṁśa*.

These two ślokaś are not found in the printed editions. See also (*Ibid.*, p. 2 “maṇḍūkarūpiṇā Varuṇena cātūrūpo Nārāyaṇo'tra stūyate”.

2 *Ibid.* p. 8 :—

“Brahmadṛṣṭān ato mantran pramāṇaṁ salileśvaraḥ,

Atra ślokaḥ bhavantīti cakārainam prthak prthak.”

This, too, is not found in the printed editions. It is to be noted that the *Vyāsātīrtha-tīkā*, too, introduces the kārīkās under the name of mantra.

3 My paper entitled “*Śaṅkara's Commentaries on the Upaniṣadas* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's Silver Jubilee Volume*.”

4 Ānandāśrama ed. 1910, p. 199 “Upaniṣat svayaṁ pramāṇam api dārdhyāya svokter mantrān udāharati”.

5 A different person from the renowned author of the *Siddhānta-leśasamgraha*.

a commentator of the one hundred and eight Upaniṣads seems to subscribe to the same view, for his commentary on this Upaniṣad extends only to the prose passages and the kārīkāś of the first book¹. A large number of Mss. of this Upaniṣad in different libraries contains only these prose passages and the kārīkāś of the first book².

Thus it is perfectly clear from the above that by a considerable number of writers the first book of the kārīkāś in their present form was taken as a part of the original Upaniṣad. Not only this, on the evidence of a large number of Mss., each of the four books of the kārīkāś is also regarded as a separate Upaniṣad³.

Be it as it may. It is however evident from what is said above that according to those authorities the last three books of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś* form quite a different book or books with which the *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad has not any connection. It cannot be said that these three last books were not known to them or in their times, for their priority to those authors can very satisfactorily be proved by the very simple fact that the great Śaṅkara who flourished long before them has quoted in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (1. 4. 14) a kārīkā from the third book (III. 15). Here a question may be put as to why they did not explain the last three books of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś* which they had before them. The answer might be twofold. First, it might be their honest belief that those books had no connection with the original *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad which, according to them, comprises only the twelve prose passages and the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkāś*. And secondly, it might be said that they could not explain

1 & 2 See *Sanskrit Manuscripts* (The Adyar Library), Vol. I, Upaniṣads, pp. 116, 287-288.

3 Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 1895, p. 161; Jacobi, *Concordance to Principal Upaniṣads*, Preface, p. 8. For *Advaita-prakaraṇa Up.* and *Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa* see the Mss labelled ZZE of the Bombay Branch R. A. S.

them, for, the dominant thoughts therein, viz. absolute 'monism' (*advaitavāda*) and idealism (*vijñānavāda*) would go against their own views, viz. dualism (*dvaitavāda*) or qualified monism (*viśiṣṭādvaitavāda*). The first answer seems to be more reasonable than the second, for had they known that the last three books were really included in or connected with the original Upaniṣad they would have undoubtedly explained them, as has been done by Puruṣottama, the grandson of Vallabha (1479-1531 A. D.) the great teacher of the pure monism (*Śuddhādvaita*) school¹.

That the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* was not regarded as an Upaniṣad or a part of it in the time of Śaṅkara can be safely asserted, for as we have just now seen in the preceding foot-note, he quotes a *kārikā* from this book (I. 16), too, in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (II. 1. 9), and in doing so he does not say it to be a *śruti*, as he clearly states that it is a saying of those teachers who know the tradition of Vedānta². On another occasion in quoting from this work he uses almost the same words³. From such statements of Śaṅkara it is quite clear that the *kārikās* are composed by a great teacher (*ācārya*), and thus they cannot be regarded as an Upaniṣad nor can they partly or wholly form a portion of it.

We shall now try here to examine as clearly as possible the true relation between the prose passages and the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās*.

As Madhvācārya says⁴, the twelve prose passages of

1 In the same work (II. 1. 9) he has cited one *kārikā* more from the first book (I. 16). In the *Vivekacūṭlāmaṇi* (Vani Vilas Press, p. 109) a work assigned to him, one *karikā* from the second book (II. 32) has also been quoted though without mention of doing so.

2 "atroktaṃ Vedāntasampradāyavidbhir ācāryaiḥ".

3 "tatha ca sampradāyavido vadanti" Com. *Brahmasūtra* I. 4. 14. The *kārikā* referred to here is III. 15.

4 Com. on *Māṇḍūkya Up. Śrīnivāsaśīrṭhīyavivṛtti*, p. 8.

the Upaniṣad are divided into four parts¹. Just after each of them² there is a line, viz. "*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*" 'here are the ślokaś'. These introductory lines compared with similar sentences³ in the different Upaniṣads strongly suggest that the ślokaś are quoted there only to support what is being discussed. And we have already seen that Madhvācārya and others, and specially the former, say the very thing quite clearly. Thus it follows from it that the ślokaś or kārīkāś were already in existence and the prose passages came into being afterwards.

A question may, however, arise here as to whether these introductory lines ("*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*") are in fact included in the Upaniṣad. In some of the Mss.⁴ used for the preparation of the second and third edition (1900 and 1910 respectively) of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad with the kārīkāś and the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara and *Tīkā* of Ānandagiri in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, there is a short line apparently in the *bhāṣya* just at the beginning of "*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*" (p. 25) which introduces it saying "Now, here is the sentence of the author of the Vārtika (i. e. the kārīkāś)." ⁵ This shows that the introductory lines are not included in the original Upaniṣad. This view is supported by

1 Part I, passages 1-6 ; Part II, passage 7 ; Part III, passages 8-11 ; Part IV, passage 12.

2 I. e. before kārīkāś 1, 10, 19, 24.

3 "tadeṣa ślokā bhavanti", Bṛhad. Up. 4. 3 ; II, 4. 4. 8 ; "tadeṣa śloko bhavati", Bṛhad. Up. 2. 2. 3, etc. ; "tadeṣa ślokaḥ", Ch. Up. 2. 11. 3 ; 3. 11. 1 ; etc. ; "tadapyeṣa śloko bhavati", Taittī. Up. 2. 1. 1 ; cf. "tadetad ṛcābhyuktam". Ch. Up. 3. 12. 5, Bṛhad. Up. 4. 4. 23 ; Praśna Up. 1. 7 ; Maṇḍūkya Up. 3. 2, 19, etc.

4 Viz., kha ga 3.

5 "atha vārtikakāroktam vākyam." That the kārīkāś were known to some as a *Vārtika* is evident also from at least other two Mss., viz., 'gha' and 'ña' : "iti Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadam vārtikaḥ" p. 155, note 1 (2nd ed.). We shall come to this point later on. The *Vārtikakāra* is therefore here Gauḍapāda himself.

the following lines of Ānandagiri : ‘The teacher (i.e. Gauḍapāda) having read the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad (up to that portion) introduces the ślokas which are its exposition by the words beginning with ‘Here.’ And the author of the bhāṣya (i.e. Śaṅkara) explains it, quoting it by the word ‘Here’¹. Thus according to Ānandagiri, too, these introductory lines do not constitute the original Upaniṣad.

But this can hardly be accepted on the following grounds : First, we have already seen that among those who hold that the kārīkās of the first book are included in the original Upaniṣad, Madhvācārya is the foremost. He expressly says that the introductory lines in question are also the parts of the Upaniṣad. For he writes in his commentary (pp. 7-8) :

“Brahmadṛṣṭānato mantrāṇ pramāṇaṃ salileśvaraḥ

Atra ślokaḥ bhavantiIti cakāraivaṃ puṇaḥ puṇaḥ”.

“Therefore, Varuṇa took the *mantras* as authority quoting them separately with the words ‘Here are the ślokas’.” Madhvācārya says this couplet is in the Garuḍa-purāṇa². If it is so, it would follow from it that this fact was known to the people long before him.

Secondly, as has already been shown, the manner in which these lines are introduced if compared with that in similar cases in the Upaniṣads and other works, would strongly indicate that the introductory lines are included in the main work.

Thirdly, it is found in Sanskrit works that whenever an introductory phrase, such as “atrāyaṃ ślokaḥ” etc., is used, only two things are possible there : (1) either the whole work including both the phrase and the ślokas is by the same author,³ or (ii) the ślokas introduced by the phrase

1 “ācāryair Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadaṃ paṭhitvā tadvyākhyānaśloka-vatāraṇaṃ atretyādinaḥ kṛtaṃ. Tad atretyanupya bhāṣyakārau vyākaroti”, p. 25.

2 Not found in the printed edition.

3 For instance, let us take Sāyaṇa’s commentary on the *R̥gveda*

are by one and the other portion of the work by another¹. In the first case the whole of the first book including both the prose passages and the kārīkās should be accepted as written by one, i.e. the teacher, Ācārya Gauḍapāda ; but Ānandagiri would not admit it. And in the second, the introductory phrases must be included in the main Upaniṣad as is the case with other Upaniṣads, but this would also not be admitted by him.

Fourthly and finally, as we shall presently see that the twelve prose passages of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad are based on the Gauḍapāda-kārīkās in the first book and not the latter on the former, it is quite certain that the former should have the introductory line and the quoted kārīkās referred to by them, as the case is with other Upaniṣads.

(To be continued)

VIDHUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARYA

(Max Müller's 2nd ed. Vol. I, p. 6 ; see also pp. 10-11) where he introduces two ślokaś saying "Tatra saṅgraha śatakan". 'Here are two collecting verses', and then quotes them and these are his own and taken from his *Jaiminīyanyāyamālā* (1. 2. 4.).

1 See the passages of the Upaniṣads referred to in the foot-note no. 3, p. 123.

Lakṣmaṇa Sena's Flight from Nadia

The story of the way in which Bengal came under the Muhammadan rule is the most marvellous that has been recorded by historians. The ousting of the Hindu ruler was made by Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khilji, and not by Qutbuddin. This account is found not in the contemporaneous *Tajul-Maasir* but in the *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī* written admittedly from hearsay reports.

We give the account as given in the *Tabaqat* with remarks of my own. Muhammad Bakhtiyar was a Khilji (not a Turk but an Afghan) adventurer who sought employment and fortune under the expanding power of Shahabuddin Ghori. When a victorious people establishes its rule in a new country, turbulent spirits belonging to the nationality of the rulers come forward in numbers to advance their fortunes as Maratha cavaliers did under Sivaji or Baji Rao. Bakhtiyar was a hair-brained adventurer of this type. He obtained an employment as Governor of Mirzapur. Collecting an army of Turks and Afghans, he first attacked Bihar, plundering both town and country. He is said to have seized a Buddhist settlement described as Bihar and massacred all the defenceless shaven-headed 'Brāhmaṇas' (i.e. Buddhists) and thrown away their sacred books, which none was left to read or explain. This event happened probably in 1199 A. D. as Bakhtiyar is described by *Tajul-Maasir* as appearing before Qutbuddin with presents obtained by the occupation of Oudh and Bihar. He was honoured with a robe and again sent to Bihar.

"He then planned the conquest of Bengal and secretly prepared an army and suddenly made a raid on Nadia the capital of Bengal. In his impetuosity, he reached the city with only 18 horsemen with him and entering it in an inoffensive manner, looking as if he were a dealer in

horses, reached the palace, and at once drawing swords attacked the guards. The palace was in consternation and none opposed him. The aged king Lakṣmaṇasena heard the uproar, as he was about to sit to dinner, and knowing the reality fled by the back-door. He escaped and went to the Jagannāth. The palace and the city were taken possession of by the army which soon arrived. It is needless to say that there was no resistance, and the city was plundered and even destroyed". Bakhtiyar made Gauda or Lakhnauti his capital as this had been a capital of the Sena kings.

Doubts have been expressed about the truth of the account given above. That the political government of Bengal should have been so lax and supine as not to know of the advance of an army over such a great distance (Bihar to Nadia), or that there was no preparedness to resist the dangerous enemy when the whole country was talking of the fall of Delhi and Kanauj, or that there was actually not a single blow struck in defence of Nadia or the kingdom, is strange indeed. It appears to me to be a sheer exaggeration of the Muhammadan informants of the author of the *Tabaqat*, if not of the historian himself. The absurd story that the birth of the king Lakṣmaṇa was delayed for the arrival of the auspicious moment of birth by tying up the feet of the pregnant queen as told in the *Tabaqat* is proof enough of the absurd nature of the whole story. The occupation of Bengal is placed by the *Tabaqat* in 1099, the 80th year of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era, but it probably happened after his death and in about 1202 A. D. The account tries to explain the entire absence of defence by the king by attributing it to the supposed superstition of the old king's Brāhmaṇa counsellors, who had told him that the kingdom was fated to be taken by a Turk according to their astrological calculations. It is even added that when the king enquired what the mark of the conqueror would be, it was stated by the learned astrologers that the conqueror would have long arms reaching below the knees. The king sent men to

ascertain whether any Turk had that mark and Bakhtiyar was found to have such long arms. There may be some truth in the fact that the resistance of the Hindus was weakened to some extent by the foretelling of the *Purāṇas* that 'Bhāratavarṣa was fated to be conquered by the Mlecchas', or the absurd and fearful prognostications of the astrologers. But the story is on the face of it too absurd to be true and we at once set down this account of the fall of Bengal as exaggerated.

For this account of the *Tabaqat* written about 1250 A. D., distorted as it must have been by the desire of the adventurers who accompanied Muhammad Bakhtiyar to exaggerate the courage of the invaders or to have a hit at the Hindu belief in astrology, this account should be tested by the evidence of a contemporaneous Indian record, viz. the Bakerganj Inscription of Keśavasena (*JASB.*, vol. VII, pp. 40-50). It no doubt exaggerates the prowess both of Lakṣmaṇasena and his son the grantor Keśavasena, and thus errs on the other side. But it makes no mention whatever of this ignominious defeat of Lakṣmaṇasena, coming as it does several years after that event. It may be urged that its omission was natural, as no inscription records the defeats of the inscripitor. But we should take into consideration the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena is herein rightly praised as a valiant king who had raised three victory columns at Allahabad, Benares, and Jagannāth, and that Keśavasena was still a powerful king ruling in eastern Bengal. It is certain that the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena ruled in Eastern Bengal for a long time after the event. It is even possible that Nadia may have been attacked after the death of Lakṣmaṇasena during the reign of Mādhavasena whose name appears to have been erased from this Bakerganj copper plate (*Ibid.*, p. 42). We, therefore, think that if we put the two records together, the reasonable inference would be that Bengal fell after resistance, and not as ignominiously as depicted in the account.

Even if it be conceded that the story in the *Tabaqat* represents facts, they should be seen in connection with their particular setting. In the first place, it must be noted that Nadia was not the chief capital of the Senas. It was a newly made Brāhmaṇa settlement and Lakṣmaṇasena resided there only occasionally. The guards at the palace must have been few and the army in the city only nominal. Secondly, a sudden raid on such a place is not impracticable. Indeed such raids are often recorded in history. Alauddin made such a sudden and wily raid on Devagiri in the Deccan. A hundred years later, Shahabuddin Ghori was surprised in his tent on the eastern bank of the Indus by a few Ghakkars who by eluding the guards reached the place through water and murdered Shahabuddin. Thirdly, to escape from such an attack and start fresh resistance from a new capital was not at all dishonourable but on the other hand proper and creditable. This was what Rājyapāla of Kanauj or Bhīma of Gujarat did against Mahmud, or Rajaram did against Aurangzib. And this is what is done in modern days. They give up the attacked capital and making another town the base of operations carry on the resistance from there. This is exactly what Lakṣmaṇasena and his descendants appear to have done. They established themselves at Vikramapura and appeared to have ruled for nearly a century more in Eastern Bengal, continuing their resistance to the Muhammadans. The *Tabaqat* records that when Nasiruddin marched against Lakhnauti, the Khilji had marched his forces from Lakhnauti "with the intention of entering the territory of Bang" meaning against the Sena king. Why such resistance eventually failed to re-establish the Hindu power not only in Bengal but also in the other parts of Northern India is a problem, which we shall attempt to solve by a later opportunity.

C. V. VAIDYA

Rasātala or the Under-World

(*A forgotten country*)

Is Rasātala a myth, a creation of the poet's brain ? Have the seven spheres of Rasātala below the earth been invented as a counterpart of the seven *Lokas* or worlds¹ above the earth. The name of Rasātala, or its synonym Pātāla, occurs in almost all the ancient Hindu works of importance, professing or pretending to give an account of historical events of ancient times. If Rasātala be an idle phantasm or a mere figment of the poet's imagination, the writers of different periods would not have tried to keep it alive. Rasātala has been peopled with serpents, demons, birds, and animals, invested with the physical and mental qualities of a human being. Śeṣa Nāga, the king of the serpents, is described² as seated upon a throne with all the paraphernalia of royalty about him. His head is bedecked with a crown, his ears have pendants, and his arms extend up to his knees. He is clothed in black, and has, on his two sides, attendants waving the fly-whisks. He is also surrounded by his ministers and courtiers. He does not hiss, but talks like a human being, and talks wisdom like a veritable Veda-Vyāsa³. There were demons fearless, warlike, and generous. Bali, for instance, was so generous that he gave everything he possessed to the poor and the Brāhmaṇas⁴. They lived in cities, which in beauty could vie with any "city of heaven", containing houses, gardens and palaces ; and Hiranyapura, the capital of the Daityas has been described as

1 *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa, ch. 22 :—*Bhūloko'tha Bhuvarelokaḥ Svarloko'tha Mahar Janah Tapah Satyaṇca Saptaita Devalokāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.*

2 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 82.

3 *Padma P.*, Pātāla-kh., ch. 1.

4 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 220.

looking beautiful with roads and gateways specially prepared by Brahmā for the Dānavas¹. The demons did not wander in forests and live in caves like the primitive man, but they possessed various amenities of civilisation. The Suparna (or Garuḍa) birds were human beings to all intents and purposes, except for their beaks and wings². The Surabhis or the cow-tribe lived in Rasātala, and they could speak like human beings and prophesy future events³. In spite of paucity of information we have enough evidence to conclude that Rasātala is a reminiscence of a primeval age when the Indo-Aryans lived with the Iranians in their ancient home in Central Asia called Ariana by Strabo, which is the Airyana-vīja of the *Avesta*⁴. This Airyana vīja, which means the "Aryan seed," is evidently Azerbaijan or Azerbijan which was originally a province of ancient Media or "mad", as it was called the Uttara (north) Madra of the Purāṇas, and now a province of Persia. The river Daitya which flowed through it is the river Aras which divided Media from Armenia. Some authorities consider Media to be the original home of the Aryans.⁵ Herodotus also says, "These Medes were called in ancient times by all people Arians⁶." Azerbaijan and the countries to the north were therefore known as Ārya of the R̥g veda and Hara of the Bible. In later times, the boundaries of Ariana were extended to the north of the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and on the east, as far as the Indus⁷, by conquest from the Seythians or Hunnic tribes who belonged to the

1 *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, ch. 172. 2 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 100.

3 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101; *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

4 "The first of the good lands and countries, which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Airyana-Vīja by the good river Daitya" *Vendidad*, ch. 1; see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. IV, p. 4; Max Müller's *Science of Language* (1873), vol. I, p. 227.

5 Dwight's *Modern Philology*, vol. I, p. 30.

6 *History of Herodotus*, translated by Rawlinson, vol. II, p. 145.

7 Hamilton and Falconer's *Geography of Strabo*, vol. III, p. 119 (Bk. XV, ch. II, 1).

Turanian race. There can be no doubt that either difference of opinion about religious matters perhaps when the schism regarding the supremacy of Varuṇa in the hierarchy of the gods originated as indicated by the promiscuous application of the words Sura and Asura to Varuṇa in the earlier portions of the *R̥g-veda*¹, or the frequent inroads and depredations of the neighbouring barbarous tribes, or perhaps both, impelled the Indo-Aryans, the ancestors of the Hindus and the Pārsis, to migrate to the Punjab in India. They brought with them the memory of these invasions, wars, and oppressions, to which they were frequently subjected by the barbarous tribes surrounding the place where they lived with the Iranians. Daityas, Dānavas, Asuras, and Nāgas² are mentioned in the works of the Vedic period and in subsequent works down to the latest Purāṇa. Though the word "Rasātala" does not appear in the Vedas, yet the word must have been handed down by oral tradition, like the hymns of the Vedas, as the abode of the people called "Demons" and "Serpents". The word *Rasā* appears in the *R̥g-veda*³, and the word *Rasātala* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴. In the latter work, it is described as the abode of the Daityas, Dānavas, Surabhi cows, and Nāgas (Serpents) situated below the earth. But though placed below the earth, Rasātala does not appear then to have been divided into seven spheres, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* describes it as a flat country containing cities, palaces, lakes and mountains. In the *Mahābhārata*⁵ and in subsequent works, we see it divided into seven spheres. The story of Rasātala has a substratum of truth, around which, has grown up a body of

1 *R̥g-veda*, IV, 42; viii, 51, 9; Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 119.

2 For Nāgas, see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2, 7, 12; *Āśvalūyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii, 41.

3 *R̥g-veda*, I, 112, 12; V, 53, 9; X, 75, 6.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 24, 25.

5 *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga, ch 101 :—*Idaṃ Rasātalaṃ nāma sapta-maṃ pṛthivītalaṃ yatrāste Surabhir mātā gavām amṛtasambhavā.*

fiction in course of time. The real signification of the word has been lost, and the facts and concepts connected with the country and its people have been forgotten. A whole country has been turned into a visionary land peopled by creatures of fantastic shapes, and uncouth descriptions.

The lexicographical meaning of Rasātala is *adhbhuvana* that is "below the world". The place has evidently been divided into seven spheres in imitation of the seven spheres above the earth peopled by beings of different descriptions.

But in order to ascertain which country was meant by Rasātala, we must examine the word itself. *Rasātala* consists of two words *Rasā* and *Tala*. *Rasā* is mentioned in the R̥g-veda¹ as the name of a river.

It is the same as the Rañghā of the *Avesta* which has been identified by Profs. Keith and Macdonell with the Jaxartes². This identification is correct, as Rasā is evidently a corruption of Araxes, the classical name of the Jaxartes. Its identification with the Indus by Windischmann does not appear to be correct, as the river Indus was too well-known at the time of the R̥g-veda³ by the name Sindhu to be called by the name Rasā. The word *Tala* is the Sanskritised form of *Tele* which is another name for the Huns. Dr. J. J. Modi in his *Early History of the Huns* says, "the Huns were called Te-le or Til-le"⁴. The compound word *Rasātala* therefore means the country on the banks of the Jaxartes where the Huns resided. According to the Hindu works Rasātala has both a general and specific signification. In its general

1 *R̥gveda*, I, 112, 12 ; V, 53, 9 ; X 75, 6.

2 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 209 ; *S. B. E.*, Vol. IV, p. 3 ; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5.

3 *R̥gveda*, i, 122, 6 ; iv, 54, 6 ; iv, 55, 3 ; x, 64, 9.

4 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv (1916-17), p. 565. Instead of *Til-le* Deguignes has *Tie-le* in his *Histoire des Huns*, Tome ii, p. 282. *Til-le* therefore is a typographical mistake for *Tie-le*.

sense it means the whole region called "Rasātala" which is below the earth, and in its specific sense it means one of the seven spheres into which it is divided. As *Rasū* means the *world*, Rasātala in its general sense means the "world" or the country of the Huns, that is Tartary or Central Asia, including Turkestan; and as the name of a particular "sphere" or province of that country, it is the valley of the Jaxartes where the Huns resided. There can be no doubt that Rasātala originally meant the country of the Huns.

The identification of Rasātala with Central Asia, including Tartary and Turkestan, is confirmed by the very works which place it below the earth. The *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ says that Rāvaṇa

after conquering the Nāgas and Dānavas of Rasātala, emerged through the very hole through which he had entered it, and passed the night on the Sumeru mountain; in other words, Rasātala was close to the Sumeru mountain. The

*Mahābhārata*² and the *Matsya Purāṇa*³ distinctly say that Meru or Sumeru mountain is in Śākadvīpa. It is also stated in the *Mahābhārata*⁴ that Garuḍa, who lived in Pātāla, having caught an elephant and a tortoise with his nails, wanted to eat them, and accordingly sat upon the branch of a Vāta tree (*Ficus Indica*). The branch broke. Some Bālakhilya (pigmy) ṛṣis were performing asceticism on that branch. In order to save the lives of those ṛṣis, Garuḍa took up the branch with his beak and flew to the Gandhamādana mountain where his father Kaśyapa was performing asceticism to ask his advice regarding a suitable place where he could eat the elephant and the tortoise with convenience. At the intercession of Kaśyapa the pigmy ṛṣis left the branch on the Gandhamādana mountain and went to perform asceticism on the Himālaya. Śeṣa, the king of the Nāgas, also started on a pilgrimage from Gandhamādana, and then visited Badarikāśrama in the

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 24, 25 2 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. II.

3 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121. 4 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30; Udyoga, ch. 100.

Himalaya¹. The *Harivaṃśa* also places Rasātala near the Gandhamādana and the Mandāra mountains². The western portion of the Himālaya from Garwal was called by the name of Gandhamādana; hence Gandhamādana and the Himālaya were situated to the east of Sumeru Parvata, and there can be no doubt that Gandhamādana was connected with the Sumeru mountain, which, as stated before, is in Śākadvīpa or Seythia, as one of its seven principal mountains. The *Matsya Purāṇa*³ also says that Sumeru Parvata was bounded on the west by Ketumāla-varṣa, and according to the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the Sakas or the Seythians resided in Ketumāla-varṣa⁴. Sumeru therefore is the Hindukush mountain, the Mount Meros of Arrian⁵ situated near Mount Nysa of Niśāla Parvata of the *Purāṇas* and Paropamisus of the Greeks⁶. Rasātala consequently must have been situated on the north and west of the Hindukush mountain, that is, it comprised the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

The seven spheres into which Rasātala is divided are :

Sapta Pātāla or seven spheres of Rasātala.	Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Talātala, Mahātala, Sutala, and Rasātala. Rasātala being the country of the Huns, it is natural that its seven 'spheres' or provinces should be named after the names of the Huns or rather of the tribes which
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dwelt in them. (1) *A-tala* derived its name from the *A-tele* or A-telites where the Asura named Bala (Belus of Babylon) resided⁷; (2) *Bi-tala* from *Ab-tele* or *Abi-tele* or Abi-telites, the word *Ab* being a corruption or abbreviation of *Abi-Anu* or the "river Oxus"⁸, and Ab-

1 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 36.

2 *Harivaṃśa*, chs. 218, 219.

3 *Matsya P.*, ch. 112, vs. 42, 43.

4 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 59.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 179, 180.

6 Lassen's *History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins* in *JA SB.*, 1840, p. 469 note.

7 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

8 *Geography of Strabo*, Vol. 1, p. 113, note 4; *JBBRAS.*, Vol XXIV, p. 565.

tele means the Huns who lived on the shores of the Oxus. As the river Hātakī¹ or the Zarafshan, which is said to have its source in the Fan-tau mountain to the east of Samarkand near the Great Pamir, is in *Bi-tala*, it must have appertained to Transoxiana (*Māvar-ul-Nahr*) and formed a part of the kingdom of Bokhara. (3) *Ni-tala* from the *Neph-tele* or Neph-telites. In the *Bhāgavata*², the word *Pātāla* (the *Pātāla-tala* of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*) has been used for *Ni-tala*, and therefore the 'sphere' *Pātāla* was the same as *Ni-tala*. *Pātālapura* was originally the name of Aśina or Oxiana, the capital of Sogdiana as we shall hereafter show. (4) *Talū-tala* is from the *To-charis*. The Asura Maya (Ahura Mazda of the Avesta), the Spiritual Guide of the Māyāvins, dwelt in this sphere³. Māyā and Māyāvins are the same as *Magā*⁴ and *Magii* (the followers of the Zoroastrian religion). 'Maya' is a corruption of 'maga' or 'magus' who represents Ahura Mazda the architect of the universe, and hence Maya was the architect of the Asuras. The *Magii* were the "Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas brought to India by Śāmba⁵ from Seythia. The *Mahābhārata*⁶ mentions that the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa dwelt in Mrga, which has been identified with Margiana, the country around Merv⁷. This sphere therefore comprised Margiana.

(To be continued)

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1 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, 24, 7 :—*Atalaṃ Vītalaṃ Sūtalāṃ Talātalaṃ Mahātalaṃ Rasātalaṃ Pātālamiti*.

3 *Ibid.*, V, 24 ; VII, 10, 53 :—*Māvinām Paramācāryam Mayam śaraṇamūyayuh*.

4 *Kūrma P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 49 :—*Magāśca Magadhāścaiva mānaśā mandagōstathā brāhmaṇaḥ ksatriyo vaiśyaḥ śūdraścātra krameṇa tu*.

5 *Bhaviṣya P.*, Brahma Parva, chs. 73ff.

6 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

7 Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV, pp. 25, 26 note : Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, vol. II, p. 103.

The Kośalas in Ancient India

In the earliest Vedic literature, the *R̥gveda*, or the other *Saṃhitās*, no mention is made of Kośala as the name of a people. It is only in some of the later Vedic works, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Kalpasūtras* that we find Kośala as one of the countries in Vedic aryandom. Kośala is also mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist literature as one of the sixteen great countries (*mahājana-padas*) of Jambudīpa¹, or India. Pāṇini too in one of his *sūtras* (iv. 1. 17) mentions Kośala. In the *Atthasālinī*, (P. T. S., p. 305) Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani*, mention is made of the Kośalas as one of the great *ksatriya* tribes in Buddha's time. Kośala is mentioned as a beautiful place, attractive, pleasant, full of ten kinds of noise, rice, food, drink, etc. It was large, prosperous, wealthy and rich like *Alakanandā* of the *devas*².

In Buddha's time Kośala was a powerful kingdom in Northern India but it had already been eclipsed by the growing power of Magadha³.

Kośala lay to the east of the Kurus and Pañcalas, and to the west of the Videhas from whom it was separated by the river Sadantra, probably the great Gaṇḍakī⁴. According to Drs. Macdonell and Keith, Kośala lay to the north-east of the Ganges and corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh⁵. According to Mr. Rapson, Kośala formed a kingdom lying to the east of Pañcala and to the west of Videha. It is the modern province of Oudh in the United Provinces⁶. In the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. 1, p. 178) we read that the northern frontier of Kośala must have been in the hills in what is now Nepal; its southern boundary was the Ganges; and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the Śākian territory. According to Prof. Rhys Davids, the Kośalas were the ruling clan in

1 *Aṅguttara Nikaya*, vol. IV, p. 256; cf. *Viṅṇapurāṇa*, ch. IV, *Aṃśa* 4.

2 *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, pp. 110-111; cf. *Papañcasūdanī* (P. T. S.) Vol. 1, pp. 59-60.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, pp. 308-9.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 308.

5 *Vedic Index*, Vol. 1, p. 110.

6 Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 164; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 117.

the kingdom whose capital was Sāvattthī, in what is now Nepal, 70 miles north-west of the modern Gorakhpur. He thinks that it included Benares and Sāketa, and probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gaṇḍak for its eastern boundary and the mountains for its northern boundary¹. Buddhaghosa, the great
 Origin of the
 name. commentator of many of the books of the Pāli canon, narrates an anecdote giving a fanciful origin of the name of Kośala. He says in his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, the Sumaṅgalavilāsini, that the country inhabited by the Kośala princes was technically called Kośala. In ancient times, prince Mahapanāda of this country (i. e. Kośala) was very grave and did not smile. The king tried to make him smile and proclaimed that he would offer a great reward to the person who would be able to bring a smile on the prince's face. Many from among the subjects of his kingdom came to the capital in order to win the reward but all their efforts were in vain. At last the god Indra sent his own nāṭakam (dramatical party) to make him smile and it became successful. Then the people who had flocked to the court to make the prince smile began to return home. The relatives and friends of the people seeing them on the way after a long time asked them, "kacci bho kusalam, kacci bho kusalam" (Are you all right?). From the word 'kusalam', the country came to be called 'Kośala' (Sumaṅgalavilāsini, I, 239).

In the Cambridge History of India², we read that the Kośalans were almost certainly, in the main at least, of the Aryan race. Further,
 Origin of the
 tribe. the Kośalans belonged to the solar family and were derived directly from Manu through Ikṣvāku. A family of princes bearing this name is known from the Vedic literature and it is quite possible that the solar dynasties of Kosala and other kingdoms to the east of the middle country were descended from this family. If so, Ikṣvāku must be regarded as an eponymous ancestor; and as his superhuman origin had to be explained, a myth founded on a far-fetched etymology of his name was invented. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu³. The Vedic literature points out that the Ikṣvakus were originally a branch of the Pūrus. They were kings of Kośala⁴.

1 Buddhist India, p. 23.

2 Vol. I, p. 190.

3 Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 305.

4 Ibid., p. 308.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i, 4, 11) the Kōśāla-Videhas appear as falling later than the Kuru-Pāṇcālas under the influence of Brahmanism. The river Sadānīrā forms the boundary between the peoples, Kōśāla and Videha. In the same work (XIII, 5, 4, 4), the Kōśāla in the Brahmanā period, Kauśalya or Kōśāla king Para-aṇāra Hiranyanabha is described as having performed the great Aśvamedha sacrifice. A passage in the Śaṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV, I, 9, 13) shows the connection of Kōśāla with Kaśī and Videha. In the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1), Āśvalayana who was very probably a descendant of Aśvala, the hotṛ priest of Videha, is called a Kauśalya.

It is in the Epic period that Kōśāla emerges into great importance. The scene of action of the Rāmāyaṇa is in Kōśāla, the princes of which country carry Aryan civilisation to the south as far as the island of Ceylon. Mr. Pargiter points out that it is remarkable that in the Rāmāyaṇa the friendliest relations of Kōśāla were with the eastern kingdoms of Videha, Aṅga and Magadha, the Punjab kingdoms of Kekaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra, the western kingdom of Surāṣṭra and the Dakṣiṇātya kings, for these are especially named among the kings who were invited for Daśaratha's sacrifice and no mention is made of any of the kings of the middle region of Northern India except Kaśī¹. Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that it was under King Dilipa II and his immediate descendants, that the country had acquired the name of Kōśāla².

In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata we read that Janamejaya, one of the earliest kings of the Paurava family, was the son of Puru and Kauśalyā. Most probably this Kauśalya was the daughter of a king of Kōśāla (Ch. 95, p. 105). When Yudhiṣṭhira was going to perform the great Rājasūya sacrifice setting himself up as the paramount sovereign over the whole of northern India, and his brothers went out on their expeditions of conquest all over the country, it is said that Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma started from the Kuru kingdom and reached Mithilā after crossing pūrva (eastern) Kōśāla (Sabhāparva, Ch. 25, p. 240). Afterwards the second Pāṇḍava brother, Bhīmasena conquered Bṛhadbala, king of Kōśāla (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30, pp. 241-242), and this Bṛhadbala, king of Kōśāla, attended the Rājasūya yajña (Ibid., Ch. 34, p. 245). Karna conquered Kōśāla and after exacting tribute

1 Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 276.

2 Ibid., p. 275.

from the country, proceeded southwards (Vanaparva, Ch. 253, p. 513). Evidently this conquest of Kōśala by Karna was subsequent in date to that by Bhīmasena, inasmuch as we find the Kōśala king, Bhādbala led by Duryodhana marched against the Pāṇḍavas (Udyogaparva, Ch. 97, p. 807). Perhaps it was also because the Kōśalas were smarting under the defeat inflicted on them by Bhīmasena that they embraced the Kaurava side in the great war. We find, moreover, that in the Kurukṣetra war, ten warriors including Bhādbala of Kōśala, were fighting in the van of the Kuru army (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 16, pp. 827-828), so that he was recognised as one of the leading heroes on that side. Bhādbala, king of Kōśala, fought with Abhimanyu (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 45, p. 916), against whom the greatest leaders of the Kuru army led an united attack. King Duryodhana protected the army of Śakuni when the latter was hard pressed by the Pāṇḍavas with the help of the Kōśalas and others. (Ibid, Ch. 57, pp. 924-925). Bhādbala, king of Kōśala, marched with the army of Tripura, Viṇḍa and others in the Kurukṣetra war. (Ibid., Ch. 87, p. 957). In the Karna-parva we read that Bhādbala was killed by Abhimanyu (Ch. 5, pp. 1167-1168). Sukṣetra, who was the son of the king of Kōśala, also fought in the great war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas (Dronaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012-1013). After the Great War was ended, we find that Kōśala was again attacked and conquered by Arjuna before the performance of the Aśvamedha by Yudhiṣṭhira (Aśvamedhaparva, Ch. 42, p. 2093).

About the extent of the Kōśala country in the Epic period we may form some idea from the account furnished by the story of the exile of Rāma. Therein we find that after setting out from Ayodhyā, the Kōśala capital, the young princes accompanied by Sītā proceeded in a chariot from the capital so that, as Mr. Pargiter points out (JRAS., 1894, p. 234), there must have been good roads in the Kōśala country. This is also corroborated by the accounts in the Jātaka stories where we find that merchants loading as many as five hundred waggons with their merchandise marched from Magadha and the Licchavi countries through Kōśala up to the western and north-western frontiers of India. Rāma on his march away from Ayodhyā was followed by a large concourse of citizens until he reached the river Tamasā where he made the first halt in the journey. To get rid of the citizens he had his chariot yoked at night and after crossing the Tamasā or the modern Tons, and reaching the other bank he directed his course northwards in order to mislead the citizens who

Extent of the
Kōśala country
in Epic times,

would no doubt follow him in the morning. The *Ramāyaṇa* adds that on the other side of the *Tamasā*, Rāma's chariot reached the the *mahāmārga* or the great road which was evidently a trade-route. Following this they reached the river *Srīmatī Mahānadi* and passed through the *Kośala* country. After crossing the river *Vedaśruti* he turned his course towards the south. After proceeding a long distance he crossed the *Gomatī* and the *Syandikā*. After crossing the latter river Rāma pointed out to Sita the wide plain given by *Manu* to the originator of the family, *Ikṣvāku*. This region was evidently considered by the *Kośala* people as the cradle of the race, the country with which *Ikṣvāku* began his career of conquest. This country is said to be highly prosperous (*sphīta*) and also very populous (*raṣṭra-vṛtī*). Proceeding through the extensive *Kośala* plains (*viśālan Kōśālān yātvā*), he left behind him the *Kośala* regions (*Kōśālān atyavartata*) and reached the *Ganges* up to which river evidently the *Kośala* dominion extended. Here he arrived at *Śṛṅgaverapura* which was the seat of the *Niśāda* king *Gulha* who was evidently the chief of a non-Aryan settlement. Here he sent back the chariot, and crossing the *Ganges* at this place, the party entered the forest. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified *Śṛṅgaverapura* with the modern *Singror* or *Singor* on the left bank of the *Ganges* and 22 miles to the north-west of *Prayāga* or *Allahabad* (*Arch. Survey Report*, Vols. XI, 62 and XXI, 11). [For further geography of Rāma's exile, see *Pargiter*, *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 231ff].

As in the *Epics*, so also in the *Purāṇas*, the *Kośalas* are given very great prominence among the aryan *Kṣatriya* tribes of northern India. We have already referred to the *Paurāṇic* legend about the origin of the *Kośala* royal family from *Ikṣvāku*, the great eponymous ancestor born from the sneeze of *Manu*, the son of the *Sun-god*. All the *Purāṇas* agree in giving this etymological derivation of the name of the great king to whom is traced the origin of many of the ruling dynasties of eastern India including that of the *Śakyas* of *Kapilavastu*.

The *Kośala* line of kings derived from *Ikṣvāku* produced, according to the account given by the *Purāṇas* and the *Epics*, a large number of sovereigns who held up the glory of the family very high, and some of them, like *Māndhātā*, *Sagara*, *Bhagīratha*, and *Raghu* occupied the highest position amongst the kings of ancient India, so that a short study of this family of great kings is well worth our attention,

Ikṣvāku is credited by most of the *Purāṇas* (e.g. *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*,

Kośala in the
post *Epic*
period.

IV, 2, 3, Vāyu-purāṇa, 88, 8-11) with a large number of sons who divided the whole of India among themselves. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa says that Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons of whom fifty with Śakuni at their head became the protectors of northern India (Uttarāpatha-rakṣitārah) and forty-eight established themselves as rulers over southern India (Dakṣiṇāpatha bhūpālāḥ)¹. The Vāyu-purāṇa says that it was not the sons of Ikṣvāku who divided the country among themselves but that it was the children of Ikṣvāku's son Vikukṣi who set themselves up as rulers in Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha. This slight discrepancy, however, is immaterial, and though the number given of Ikṣvāku's immediate descendants is certainly fanciful, yet it seems worthy of credence that the family sprung from Ikṣvāku spread their rule far and wide over India, as many of the ruling families of India trace their descent to him.

The Bhāgavata-purāṇa furnishes greater details about the different parts of India where the sons of Ikṣvāku set up their rule. It states that of the hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, twenty-five established themselves as kings in the front portion, that is, in the eastern districts of Āryāvarta and an equal number in the hind portion, that is, in the west; two settled in the central region or the Madhyadeśa and the rest in other parts of the country; these are no doubt the forty-eight who became kings in Dakṣiṇāpatha according to the Vāyu- and Viṣṇu-purāṇas, so that these three purāṇas are quite in agreement with regard to this point.

About the next king Vikukṣi we are told by the purāṇas that he had earned the displeasure of his father, Ikṣvāku, by the violation of some ceremonial rule and hence was forsaken by the latter but after his death Vikukṣi ascended the throne and reigned over the country according to law and custom (dharmataḥ). It is said of Parañjaya, the next king, that his aid was sought for by the Devas who were hard pressed by the Asuras; but the king imposed a condition that he would do so if borne in the fight on the shoulders of Indra himself. The Devas had to submit and the king thus obtained the name of Kakutṣtha. Most probably the mythical story was invented afterwards to furnish a plausible derivation for the name.

Sixth in descent from Kakutṣtha was king Śrāvasta the founder of the city of Śrāvastī² which afterwards became the capital of

1 Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, 3.

2 Śrāvastā yaj Śrāvastī purīṇ nivesayāmīṣa (Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, 12).

northern Kōśala. Śrāvasta's grandson, Kuvalayaśva, is credited with the overthrowing of an Asura, Dhundhu, which however, seems to signify the control of a natural phenomenon. According to the account given in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, Chs. 201-203) the Ṛṣi Utaṅka complained to the king Bṛhadasva, the son of Śrāvasta, that his hermitage which was situated in the sands on the sea-coast in the west, was disturbed by the Asura, Dhundhu, who from a subterranean retreat (*antarbhūmi-gataḥ*) caused him much trouble. From time to time when the Asura gave out his breath, the earth trembled, dust clouds were raised and sometimes the tremor of the earth continued for a week accompanied by the throwing out of smoke, sparks and flames, and on account of this it had become very difficult for him to stay at his hermitage and he prayed the king for relief from this source of trouble. It is manifest that the subterranean Asura that troubled the Ṛṣi Utaṅka was nothing but a small volcanic pit near the western sea-coast which occasionally caused earthquakes and emitted smoke, ashes and fire. The old king Bṛhadasva sent his son Kuvalayaśva to destroy this Asura and the method that this prince adopted for the purpose leaves no doubt that it was a volcanic outburst that he went to control. The prince went to the spot with an army of twenty-one thousand men, who are said to be his sons whom he set to dig up the earth all round. After the excavation had proceeded for a week, the flaming body of Dhundhu became visible to all but with disastrous consequences to the thousands of soldiers ("sons of the king" as the Purāṇa tells us), who perished in the smoke and flames, only three surviving. The excavation, however, appears to have opened a subterranean channel or reservoir of water which rushing into the volcanic pit served to extinguish it for ever, for we are told by the Epic and the Purāṇas, that after Dhundhu had reduced to ashes the twenty-one thousand sons of Kuvalayaśva, streams of water flowed out of his body and the king is credited with having put down the fire by means of the water¹ and acquired the appellation of Dhundhumāra for this achievement.

A few generations after Kuvalayaśva, there was born in this royal family, the great monarch Māndhata, who according to the Paurāṇic accounts, exercised imperial sway over the whole of the

Vajño Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvasti yena nirmita (Vāyupurāṇa lxxxviii, xxvii).

1 Vāyupurāṇa, chap. lxxxviii.

earth with the seven divisions or islands and became a *Cakravartin* or emperor exercising suzerain sway¹. In Māndhātā's dominions, it is said, the sun never set: a verse (śloka) is quoted by the Purāṇas themselves as being recited by those versed in traditionary lore (Paurāṇikā dvijāḥ)—“From where the sun rises to where he stops, all this is the land (kṣetra) of Māndhātā, the son of Yuvanāśva”². As in the cases of Ikṣvaku and Kakutstha, fanciful stories based on a literal derivation of the name are narrated in the Purāṇas which state that the name Māndhātā was due to what Indra said (Māṇdhata “he will suck me”) when this prince was born. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa adds that Māndhātā also acquired the designation of Trasadasyu on account of the fear that he struck into the minds of the Dasyus. Māndhātā is said to have given his daughters in marriage to the Ṛṣi Sauvari. Purukutsa, one of the sons of Māndhātā, is said to have married a girl of the Nāgas who being much troubled by some Gandharva tribes sought for his help and the Nāga princess by her supplications took her husband to the Nāga country (Nāgaloka) and had the Gandharvas defeated by him. The Nāgas who were evidently some non-Aryan tribes are often confounded by the Purāṇas with snakes.

Trasadasyu was begot on this Naga queen and ascended his father's throne on the death of the latter. Trasadasyu's son, Anaraṇya, is said to have been killed by Ravana when the latter went out on his expedition of conquest. This is hardly possible if we take Ravana as a historical personage, inasmuch as this ruler of the Rākṣasa tribes was a contemporary of Rāma Daśarathin who lived many generations after Anaraṇya.

Several generations after this, from the Kōśala king Trayyāruṇa was born a prince Satyavrata who for three acts of violence was condemned by his father as well as by Vasiṣṭha, the family priest and was given the name of Trīṣaṅku. Vasiṣṭha's rival Viśvāmitra, however, embraced his cause, placed him on the throne of Kōśala and sent him to heaven. Trīṣaṅku's son Hariścandra became a very great monarch of the Kōśalas: he celebrated a Rājasūya sacrifice and became famous as a *Samrāt* or Emperor (Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 88, verse 118). The story as to how Hariścandra promised to sacrifice his son to god Varuṇa and at last Śunaḥsepa, a brāhmaṇa

1 Vāyupurāṇa lxxxviii, lxxviii; Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2.

2 Viṣṇupurāṇa iv, 2, xviii.

lad, was offered in his stead is told in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, evidently taking it from the Aitareya Brahmana where the events are narrated at great length. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa also adds that there was a long-standing quarrel between Vasistha and Viśvāmitra over this Kōśala king Hariścandra. The Mahābhārata (iii, ch. 12) also speaks of the surpassing glories of king Hariścandra of Kōśala; at the court of Indra, he was the only rājarsi who was entitled to sit, as he was a very powerful *Samrāt* to whom all the rulers of the earth had to bow down, and who had by his own arms brought under his sway the whole of the earth with its seven islands. He celebrated the Rājasuya sacrifice on a grand scale distributing the immense treasure that he had accumulated by his prowess and after the Rājasuya was completed he was installed in the sovereignty of the earth as a *Samrāt* by the thousands of kings assembled. Nārada who gives this account to Yudhiṣṭhira urges him to try to rival the glories of this great monarch inasmuch as his father Paṇḍu seeing Nārada come down to earth had asked him to urge Yudhiṣṭhira to do so. He was so highly respected as a magnanimous donor that a saying of his is quoted in the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (xiii, 65), and his great sacrifices are referred to (xii, 20) including the one in which Śunahṣepa figured (xiii, 3). In the lists of the ancient kings of India who exercised imperial sway over India, the name of Hariścandra recurs in the Purāṇas and the Epics.

With Vāhu who came to the Kōśala throne several generations after the *Samrāt* Hariścandra, the Kōśala power suffered a great reverse. Vāhu was defeated by his enemies, the confederacy of the Haihayas, Talajaṅghas and other allied kṣatriya tribes and was forced to abdicate his throne. He repaired to the forest where after his death his wife bore a son who was reared and brought up with great care by the ṛṣi Aurva near whose hermitage the king had taken refuge and built his woodland home.

This young prince had the making of a great king in him and when come of age he sought to revive the glories of Kōśala and place it again in the high position of a suzerain power in India. This was the great Sagara who almost exterminated the Haihayas and it is said that foreign tribes living on the frontiers of India were so hard pressed by the prowess of this young hero that they sought the protection of Sagara's family preceptor, Vasistha, at whose request the young Kōśala monarch desisted from their extermination on which he was bent. Then the story is told in the Purāṇas

how he got one son Asamañjas by one of his queens and sixty thousand sons by another. Asamañjas was abandoned by his father on account of his bad conduct. Sagara employed the sixty thousand sons to defend against all aggressors the horse of the Aśvamedha in its unbridled career over the earth. The sacrificial horse was secreted by some one at the hermitage of the ṛṣi Kapila down below the earth in Pātāla. Sagara's sons looking about for it could not find it anywhere on earth and then dug up a large portion of its surface and at last discovered it at the hermitage of Kapila. This ṛṣi they insulted and as the result they were reduced to ashes by him. Sagara then sent his grandson, Anuṣūman in quest of the horse; he appeased the wrath of Kapila, succeeded in bringing back the horse and obtained a promise from the ṛṣi that his uncles would be purged of their sins when his grandson would bring down the heavenly Ganges down below to the pit excavated by them. Thus the sacrifice was completed by Sagara who pleased by the achievements of Anuṣūman looked over the claims of his abandoned son Asamañjas and made over the Kōśāla throne to him.

The grandson of Anuṣūman was the great Bhagīratha who after ascending the throne made his prowess felt far and wide and became a Cakravartin as the Mahābhārata (iii, 108) tells us. But coming to know of the great duty that devolved upon him of rescuing his ancestors from the evil fate that had overtaken them, he left the government of his vast empire in the hands of his ministers, and the story is well-known how he by the severest penances succeeded in bringing down the divine river from the Himalayas, and thus filled up the pit excavated by his ancestors to form the Sāgara or ocean, and thus the holy stream acquired the designation of the Bhagīrathi. The Ramāyaṇa (i. 39-44) gives the story at great length and so does the Mahābhārata (iii. 106-109).

After several great names in the list of Kōśāla sovereigns after Bhagīratha we meet with Ṛtuparṇa who was a contemporary of the celebrated Vidarbha monarch Nala whom he taught the secret art of playing the dice (akṣaḥṛdaya) and acquired from him in exchange the science of training horses. The story is told at great length in the Mahābhārata (iii. 71ff) how the Kōśāla monarch Ṛtuparṇa had employed Nala as his charioteer when the latter was depressed by the reverses of fortune and how the exchange of a knowledge of the sciences was made when Nala as the charioteer of Ṛtuparṇa was carrying him from his capital Ayodhyā to Kuṇḍinapura.

R̥tuparna's son was Sudāsa who is identified by some with the king of the same name in the R̥g-Veda. Sudāsa's son was Mitrasaha Saudāsa who became famous afterwards as Kalmāṣapāda. The story of Kalmāṣapāda is told in the Purāṇas and many other works how he owing to the curse of Vasīṣṭha became a rākṣasa for twelve years.

Saudāsa's grandson Valika requires more than a passing notice. It is said in the Purāṇas that when Paraśurāma was carrying out his terrible vow of exterminating the kṣatriyas on the earth, this Vālika was saved from his wrath by being surrounded by a number of naked women and thus became known as *Nārīkavaca*, that is, a person protected by women and as he was the *Mūla* or source from which future generations of kṣatriyas sprang up, he also acquired the designation of Mulaka.

In the fourth generation after Mulaka in whom the Kōśala royal family was perpetuated after the general massacre of the kṣatriyas by Paraśurāma, we come to a Kōśala sovereign Khaṭvāṅga whose praises are sung by the Purāṇas. He is spoken of as a *Samrāt* whose great prowess led to his invitation by the gods to help them in their fight with the Asuras and an ancient verse is cited in the Purāṇas saying, "On the earth there will be no one that would equal Khaṭvāṅga in merit inasmuch as on coming back from the regions of the gods and learning that he had only *muhūrta* (about three quarters of an hour) to live, won the three worlds by his good sense and by charity" (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV. 4, 39). The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IX. 9) adds that Khaṭvāṅga, within the remaining short period of his life, devoted himself to the meditation of the supreme spirit with such zeal as to obtain mokṣa. Khaṭvāṅga's grandson was the great Raghu who gave his name to the family, and Raghu's grandson again was Daśaratha, the father of Rāma in whom the glory of the Kōśala royal dynasty reached its culmination, the god Viṣṇu himself has incarnated in him and his three other brothers. It is said that through their regard for these princes, the people residing in the cities and the villages of Kōśala country reached the heaven of Viṣṇu. After Rāma the extensive Kōśala empire is said to have been divided amongst the sons of the four brothers. The sons of the youngest brother Śatrughna ruled at Mathurā which had been established by their father after defeating the rākṣasas. The sons of Lakṣmaṇa established two kingdoms in the far north in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, while Bharata's sons founded the cities of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvati in the Gandhāra country

the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (88, 189-190) tells us. The Kōśāla country proper is said to have been divided into two. In southern Kōśāla, Kuśa, the elder of the two sons of Rāma, became king and transferred his capital from Ayodhyā to Kuśasthali which he built up at the foot of the Vindhya range (Vindhya-parvata-sānuṣu, *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 88, 198). Lava, the younger, became the ruler of the northern Kōśāla country and set up his capital at the city of Śarāvati or Śrāvastī which we find to be the seat of the Kōśāla sovereigns at the time Buddha lived.

Among the kings that followed Kuśa in the main line of the Kōśāla monarchs we do not meet with any great name until we come to Hiranyanābha Kauśalya who is said to have been a disciple of the great ṛṣi Jaimini from whom he learnt the science of Yoga and imparted it in his turn to the great yogin Vajñavalkya (*Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, IX, 12). This glory of proficiency in the Yogaśāstra is, however, transferred by some of the Purāṇas to Hiranyanābha's son, whom the *Vāyu-purāṇa* calls Vaśiṣṭha (*Vāyu*, 83, 207-8) and *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* names Puṣya (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, IV, 4, 48). The fifth in descent from the latter monarch was Maru or Manu who is said to be living in the village of Kalapa in a state of yoga (meditation) and waiting to be the progenitor of the kṣātrīyas in the next cycle. Several generations down from this monarch was Bṛhadbala who led the Kōśāla troops to the great Kurukṣetra fight and was killed there in the battle by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. To this we have already referred in a previous section. Many of the Purāṇas and their enumeration of the Kōśāla sovereigns end with Bṛhadbala, while some others like the *Bhāgavata* add a few more names who are called the future kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (IX, 12, 16) observes that the last king of the Ikṣvāku line would be Sumitra and adds that during his reign there will be the advent of the Kaliyuga, and the family will come to an end.

The *Vāyu-purāṇa* also in a later chapter (Ch. 99) gives a list of the kings in the Ikṣvāku line after Bṛhadbala whom it here calls Bṛhadratha, which is apparently a mistake, because at the end it mentions Bṛhadbala. Five generations after this Bṛhadratha the *Vāyu-purāṇa* says that Divākara "is at present ruling at the city of Ayodhyā" (*Yasca sāmpratamadhyāste Ayodhyāṃ nagarīm nṛpaḥ*) and after Divākara, it speaks of the future kings that will come in the line. This so-called future list comes to a termination with Sumitra and this *Purāṇa* also like the *Bhāgavata* quotes a passage which lays down that with the advent of Kaliyuga the family of the Ikṣvākus will come to an

end. The Vāyu-purāṇa list though slightly different is substantially the same as the one in the Bhagavata, and one peculiar feature of these lists is that they include Śuddhodana and Rāhula in the list of future Ikṣvāku rulers. The kings of the Ikṣvāku line are praised by the Vāyu-purāṇa as "heroic, proficient in learning, established in truth and having their senses under control" (Vāyu-purāṇa, Chs. 99, 291).

The list in the Matsya-purāṇa (Ch. 12) from Kuśa to the Bhārata war is considerably shorter than the lists referred to above and is evidently wrong. It speaks of Śrutaya as the king who fell in the Bhārata war while in most of the Purāṇas, Bhādbala is mentioned as the king who did so.

The history of Kōśala in later times is known chiefly from Jaina and Buddhist literature. In the Jaina Kalpasūtra we read that on the death of Mahāvira, the eighteen confederate kings of Kaśī and Kōśala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, on the day of the new moon, instituted an illumination on the Pōṣada which was a fasting day (Kalpasutra, § 128, S. B. E., vol. XXII, p. 266). Prof. Jacobi observes, "according to the Jainas, the Licchavis and the Mallakis were the chiefs of Kaśī and Kōśala. They seem to have succeeded the Aikṣvakas who ruled there in the time of the Ramāyaṇa". (Jaina Sutra, pt. II, p. 321, n. 3).

The Pāli-Buddhist literature is full of information about Kōśala which appears to have occupied a very prominent position at the time of Buddha.

We hear of many worthies of Kōśala. The Dīgha Nikāya, for instance, tells us that a famous brāhmaṇa teacher of Kōśala and the teacher of Ambaṭṭha, Pokkharasādi enjoyed the property given by Pasenadi the contemporary of Buddha and that the king did not allow him to come in his presence. Pasenadi used to consult him behind the screen (vol. I, p. 103). Buddhaghōṣa also furnishes some details about this sage, who, as we have seen, is mentioned in the Dīgha Nikāya. Pokkharasādi or Pokkharasādi, says the commentator, was a brāhmaṇa, living at Ukkatṭhanagara given by the king of Kōśala, Pasenadi, as Brahmadeyya (i. e. as a fee given to a brahmin). He was well-versed in the Vedas. He had been brought up and educated by a hermit who taught him many *sippas* or arts. He satisfied the king of Kōśala by a display of his learning. Thus satisfied, the king bestowed upon him Ukkatṭhanagara (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. I, pp. 244-245).

Another eminent man was Poṭṭhapāda. Mallikā, queen of

Pasenadi, built an ārāma at the Kośala capital, Sāvattthi, known as Mallikārāma, where this teacher with many pupils

Poṭṭhapāda. went to live. Buddha in course of his begging tour, came to Poṭṭhapāda and they had a talk about the means of the cessation of consciousness, observance of precepts, restraint of sense-organs, etc. (Dīgha Nikāya, vol II, pp. 178 ff).

The Jātakas and Vinaya texts are full of details about Kośala. It is related in one of these works that once in Kośala, there was no rain, the crops were withered and everywhere ponds, tanks and lakes were dried up (Jātaka, vol. I, p. 183). It is narrated in another Jātaka story that in Kośala there was a brāhmaṇa who by simply smelling a sword could say whether it was lucky or not (Jātaka, vol. I, p. 277). Gangs of burglars, highway-men and murderers were not unknown in Kośala. (Ibid., vol. II, p. 97). In the Kośala country, the inhabitants were often carried away and killed by them. (Vinaya texts, pt. I, p. 312).

Kośala as described in the early Buddhist texts.

This is not very unlikely as the Kośala country included the forest-clad hills and valleys of the outer spurs of the Himalayas. In the Pabbajjā Suttanta of the Sutta-Nipāta, we read that the inhabitants of Kośala were healthy and powerful (p. 73).

The Dhammapada Commentary furnishes us with some interesting information regarding Kośala. We learn from this work that Pasenadi, son of Mahākośala, was educated at Taxila. Mahāli, a Licchavi prince and a Malla prince of Kusinārā were his class mates. (D. C., pt. I, pp. 337-338). He (Pasenadi) ascended the throne of Kośala after the death of his father.

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Pasenadi, king of Kośala.

Pasenadi, king of Kośala.

him morning and evening with the four requisites. Afterwards Bavari with his disciples went to the Dakkhiṇāpatha as he was unwilling to stay in the royal garden any more (S. N. Com. II, pp. 570 foll.), Kośala was not inhabited by the setṭhis previous to Pasenadi of Kośala who asked Maṇḍakasetṭhi and Dhanañjayasetṭhi to settle in the country and they did settle there. (Dhammapada Commentary, pt. I, pp. 384 foll.).

Again, we read that Pasenadi of Kośala was enamoured of a beautiful woman and tried to win her by killing her husband, but he gave up this idea when warned by Buddha (Ibid., II, pp. 1 foll.).

The Kośalan king had a fight with Ajātaśatru for the village of Kāśī. He was thrice defeated. He gave up his food out of shame for this defeat by a mere boy. In the end he won victory over Ajātaśatru and captured him.

A great hall of the Law (Saddhamma Mahāsālā) was built by king Pasenadi for Buddha. (Ibid., pp. 1-2).

The Śākyas became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha. (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 80). The Tibetan books have preserved a story of the Kośala king who visited the capital of the Śākyas. Once Pasenadi, king of Kośala, carried away by his horse, reached Kapilavastu alone, and roaming about hither and thither came to the garden of Mahānāman. Here he saw the beautiful Mallika, a slave-girl of Mahānāman. He noticed the shrewdness and wisdom of the girl, went to Mahanāman and expressed his desire to marry her. Mahanāman agreed and the king took her with him in great pomp to Śrāvastī. In due course a child was born to Mallika. This child was called Viruḍhaka or the high-born (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp 75-77). This story is a Tibetan version of the famous story of Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā which is thus told in the Mahāvastu Avadāna :

King Pasenadi had a great admiration for Buddha. He wished to establish a connection with Buddha's family by marriage and wanted to marry one of the daughters of the Śākya chiefs. The Śākyas decided that it was beneath their dignity to marry one of their daughters to the king of Kośala (Buddhist India, p. 11). Accordingly they sent a girl named Vāsabhakhattiyā, a daughter, by a slave woman, of one of their leading chiefs, Mahanāman. In course of time, a son was born to Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā. This son was named Viḍḍabha who when he became of age found out that the Śākyas had deceived his father Pasenadi by

giving him a daughter of a slave woman to marry. He resolved to take revenge upon them. With the help of his Commander-in-Chief Dirgha Cārāyana, he deposed his father and got possession of the throne for himself. After ascending the throne, Viḷūḍabha invaded the Śākya country, took their city and slew many of them without any distinction of age or sex. (vide *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 197-201).

Many are the stories told about Pasenadi's dealings with Buddha and his disciples.

In the *Saṃyutta Nikaya* we read that Pasenadi before accepting Buddha's discipleship saw Buddha at Jetavana. Pasenadi asked him thus, "Six heretical teachers e. g., Pūraṇa Kassapa and others, who are senior to you in age and in point of time of ordination, do not care to call themselves Buddhas. How is it that you though younger in age called yourself a Buddha." Buddha replied, "A kṣatriya, a serpent, fire, and a bhikkhu though younger in age should not be disregarded". Pasenadi hearing this became his disciple. (*S. N.*, vol. I, pp. 68-70).

After the death of Mallikā, Pasenadi went to Buddha at Jetavana. He consoled him as he was very much afflicted with grief (*A. N.*, vol. III, p. 57).

In the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, we read that at Sāvattī, there was a householder who was rich and wealthy. He had faith in Buddha. One day he fed Buddha along with the bhikkhusaṅgha. Once when king Pasenadi was in need of money he sent for the householder, who replied that he was concealing the treasures and he would see the king with them afterwards (pp. 216-217).

Once some quarrelsome bhikkhus of Kosambī intended to ask the pardon of Buddha on account of their fault while Buddha was at Sāvattī. Pasenadi hearing of their advent, went to Buddha and told his intention of not allowing them to come to Kōśāla but the king was advised by Buddha not to do so (*Dhammapada* Comm. pt I, p. 64).

The king of Kōśāla, provided Khaṇḍa-dhāna with all necessities when the latter left the world after hearing the preachings of Buddha. (*Psalm of the Brethren*, pp. 19-20).

Pasenadi was famous for his charity. While Buddha was residing at Sāvattī in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, the king made gifts for a week on an immense scale, not to be compared with the charity practised by anybody in his kingdom. These gifts were

known as 'asadisādāna' (incomparable charity) (Piṭhavimāna, Vimānavatthu Com., pp. 5-6).

Pasenadi of Kōśāla was convinced of the greatness of the Śākya teacher and it is said he knew that Gotama was excellent and that he had renounced the worldly life from the Śākya family. The Śākyas were politically subordinate to Pasenadi of Kōśāla and they used to respect, honour, and salute him. Buddha said, "The respect which Pasenadi receives from the Śākyas is shown by him towards me". Though Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha, yet he used to show respect to Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher (Dīgha Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 83-84).

In the Saṃyutta Nikāya, we read that Pasenadi was told in reply by Buddha that lobha (avarice), dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion) themselves arise in a person and trouble him (vol. I, p. 70). Again he was told by Buddha that he who is born must meet with decay and death (Ibid., p. 71), that self is an enemy to him who commits three kinds of sin (Ibid., pp. 71-7), that the self of one who commits three kinds of sin is unprotected (Ibid., p. 73). Buddha further told Pasenadi, "Those who are in possession of great wealth often become attached to the world" (Ibid., pp. 73-74). The king said thus, "Many rich brāhmaṇas and khattiyas speak falsehood on account of kama" (desire for sensual pleasures) (Ibid., p. 74). Pasenadi performed a great sacrifice in which 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 goats, etc. were brought for sacrifice. Buddha, when requested to attend, did not like this yajña, and he was against the taking away of life by slaughter (Ibid., p. 76). Pasenadi once paid a visit to Buddha. Then some jaṭilas, nigāṇṭhas, acelakas, paribbajakas were seen going at a distance from the Blessed One. Pasenadi saluted them and told Buddha that these people were arahats. Buddha said, "It is impossible to know one's character, purity, strength and wisdom by seeing him for a moment" (Ibid., pp. 78-79). Pasenadi used to take a pot of rice which was sufficient to hold sixteen seers of rice (Ibid., p. 81). He reduced his meal to one nāti under Buddha's instruction (Ibid., pp. 81-82).

Pasenadi had to fight with Ajātaśatru who was defeated and imprisoned. His four-fold army was defeated and captured by Pasenadi but ultimately Ajātaśatru was set free (Ibid., pp. 83-85). Pasenadi had a daughter born to him by Mallika. At this news he became sorry but Buddha consoled him by saying that some women are better than men if they are virtuous and faithful to their husbands. Their sons would be brave (Ibid., p. 86). Pasenadi was taught that earnestness is the only virtue which gives happiness in this

life as well as in after-life (Ibid., pp. 86-87). Pasenadi was again told by Buddha that there are four kinds of puggala in this world. (Ibid., pp. 93 foll). He became very much afflicted with grief when his grandmother died, but he was consoled by Buddha (Ibid., p. 97).

The king of Kosāla had an elephant named Bhaddaraka. It had great strength. (Ibid., pt. IV, p. 25). Some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kosāla. He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chains. They were thrown in prison. This information was given by the bhikkhus to Buddha who was asked whether there was any stronger tie than this. Buddha replied, "attachment to wives, sons, and wealth are stronger than other ties." (D. C., pt. IV, pp. 54-55).

The Samyutta Nikāya also supplies us with further information about Kosāla. Buddha spent much of his time at Savatthi and most of his sermons were delivered there. From Kosāla, Buddha went to the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāśis, and Magadhas (S. N., vol. v, pp. 349 foll). Buddha delivered a sermon on self to the brāhmaṇa householders of a brāhmaṇa village in Kosāla (Ibid., pp. 352 foll).

The story of the conversion of the Kosāla country to the Buddhist faith is told in some detail in the Majjhima Nikāya. Here we read that in the course of his journey over Northern India, on one occasion the Blessed One was sojourning in Kosāla and went to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosāla. The brāhmaṇa householders of Sālā went to see him and asked him a question regarding the going of beings to heaven and hell after death, and he answered it fully with reference to adhammacariyā (doing misdeeds) and visamacariyā (doing improper deeds) (vol. I, pp. 285 foll). In the same village Buddha had a talk with the brāhmaṇa householders about faith in Buddha, nihilism, karma, non-existence of the consequence of kamma, kāya, vaci and manokammas, arūpaloka, cessation of existence, four kinds of puggala, four jhānas and the six abhiññās. Buddha explained them to their satisfaction and they became his life-long disciples. (M. N., Vol. I, pp. 400 foll). When Buddha was sojourning in Kosāla, he smiled at a place a little away from the road. Ānanda asked him about the reason of his smile and he replied that formerly there was a rich town named Vebhaliṅga. Kassapa Buddha used to live there. Kassapa had his ārāma at the spot where Buddha smiled. In this ārāma Kassapa used to instruct the people. Ānanda prepared a seat for Buddha and requested him to sit on it so that the place might be sanctified by the two Buddhas. Buddha sat on the seat and

Buddha and the
common people
of Kosāla.

narrated a long history of Kassapa Buddha and his disciples (*Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. II, pp. 45 foll.).

When the Blessed One was at Kośala, he went once to Nagaravinda, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala. There many brahmaṇa householders used to live. They came to see Buddha attracted by the stories they had heard of his fame as a great teacher. They are told by Buddha that the Samāṇas and Brāhmaṇas who were not free from passion, anger, and ignorance, whose mind was not tranquil and who did evil deeds by body, speech and mind, should not be respected by them. They should respect those who were free from the above mentioned vices. After listening to Buddha, the brāhmaṇa householders became converted to the new faith preached by him (*Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. III, pp. 290 foll.).

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* also furnishes information about the Kośala country. We have pointed out before that the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* speaks of Kośala as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of seven kinds of gems, wealth, food and drink (vol. I, p. 213 ; vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260).

When Buddha was sojourning in Kośala, once he went to Venāgapura, a brahmaṇa village of Kośala ; the brāhmaṇa householders of the village went to pay their respects to him and had a talk with the great teacher regarding high and big comfortable beds. Buddha spoke of the three kinds of bed (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 180 foll.). The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* also repeats the story of the seat of Kassapa Buddha given in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. It narrates that at one time Buddha was sojourning in Kośala. He saw a Sala forest and smiled there. He told that Kassapa Buddha's abode was at the place where he smiled (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 214-15).

On another occasion, he was sojourning in Kośala. He saw there fishermen selling fish after dividing it. With reference to this fact Buddha gave a discourse on the impurities of the body and the evil effect of selling fish and flesh. He said, "those who carry on trade in fish and flesh cannot be happy and wealthy" (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. III, pp. 301-303).

The *Sutta Nipāta* (P. T. S., pp 79-86), tells us that when the Blessed One was dwelling in the Kośala country on the bank of a river, a brāhmaṇa named Sundarika-Bhāradvāja performed fire-sacrifices. He then saw that Buddha went to him and put to him questions thus, "To which caste do you belong ?" The Blessed One replied that he belonged to no caste. Bhāradvāja was afterwards convinced of the worthlessness of caste distinction and offered to

Buddha food which the Blessed One did not accept. The ascetic Bhāradvāja was then converted and took refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha and got ordination from Buddha.

Again, in the same work, we read that a brāhmaṇa of Kośala named Bāvari who was well-versed in mantras went from Kośala to Dakkhiṇāpatha. There in the kingdom of Assaka, near Mūlaka, he built a hermitage on the bank of the river Godāvāri and used to live on alms. He used to earn much from the villagers living in villages by the side of his hermitage. He performed a big sacrifice and he spent all his accumulated wealth. After performing the act of charity he entered the hermitage and saw a brāhmaṇa who asked for 500 kaṭṭapaṇas which he could not give and the brahmaṇa cursed him. Both of them went to Buddha who was then in Kośala and put questions to him regarding head and breaking it. Buddha replied, 'muddhā' means 'avijjā' and 'vijjā' is the destroyer of 'muddhā'. The disciples of Bāvari put several questions to Buddha, which were dealt with in the Pārāyanavagga of the Sutta Nipāta and Buddha answered them to their satisfaction (S. N., pp. 190-192).

The Vinaya Piṭaka points out that the bhikkhus of Kośala used to recite the Patimokkha in an abridged form to avert imminent danger (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, p. 261).

Buddhists in
Kośala.

Udena, a lay-devotee of Kośala had a vihāra built for the Saṅgha and dedicated it to the bhikkhus for their use (Ibid., p. 302). In the commentary on the Sutta Nipāta we read that a carpenter of Benares with his disciples worshipped Buddha's relics and observed the precepts and uposatha. In consequence of this, they were reborn in the deva-loka or the region of the gods. Before the appearance of Gotama Buddha they fell from the deva-loka and were reborn in Kośala. The carpenter was reborn in Kośala as the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father.

In Kośala, a cowherd named Nanda was rich and wealthy. He used to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's house from time to time taking with him five kinds of preparations from cow's milk. He invited Buddha who accepted the invitation. Nanda continued charities for a week. On the seventh day, Buddha delivered a sermon on dāna, sīla, etc. Nanda obtained the first stage of sanctification (D. C., pt. I, pp. 322-323).

Aggidatta was the purohita or royal chaplain of Mahākośala, father of Pasenadi. Pasenadi also accepted him as his purohita. Aggidatta thinking that he might be shown disrespect by Pasenadi became a heretic. He held that one should take refuge in mountain, forest, ārāma (pleasure garden) and tree, and this refuge would lead to the removal

of all sufferings. Moggallāna converted Aggidatta with his disciples (Ibid., pt. III, pp. 241 foll).

Kośala in later times came to be known as Śrāvastī in order to distinguish it from South Kośala. Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the seventh century A. D., says that Śrāvastī i. e., North Kośala was above 600li in circuit. Although it was mostly in ruins yet there were some inhabitants. The country had good crops and an equable climate, and the people had honest ways and were given to learning. They were fond of good works. There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, most of which were in ruins. The brethren who were very few were Sammatīyas. There were a hundred deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. Close by there was a preaching hall built by Pasenadi for Buddha. There were topes (Watters on Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 377). Further, the pilgrim records that there were many Buddhist monasteries and many brethren were Mahayānists. There were Tīrthikas (heretics) whom Buddha had vanquished by his supernatural powers (Ibid., vol. II, p. 200).

From the accounts that we have got in Buddhist literature about the Kośala kings and princes we observe that the Kosalan kings and princes received good education. In the *Brahmachatta Jātaka* we read that a son of the king of Kośala named Chatta fled to Taxila when his father was taken prisoner and there he mastered the three Vedas and eighteen vijjās. We are told that at Taxila he learnt the *Nidhi uddharanamātram* or the science of discovering hidden treasure. He found out the hidden treasure of his deceased father and with the money thus acquired he engaged troops and reconquered the lost kingdom of his father (*Jātakas*, vol. III, pp. 115-116). We have also seen before in the accounts of Kośala in the *Nikāyas*, that some Kośala princes received their education at Taxila.

T. W. Rhys Davids points out that a conversational dialect based probably on the local dialect of Sāvattthī, the capital of Kośala, was in general use among Kośala officials, among merchants and among the more cultured classes, not only throughout the Kośala dominions but east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvattthī to Avanti (*Buddhist India*, p. 153). Prof. Jacobi points out that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed in Kośala on the basis of ballads popularly recited by rhapsodists throughout that district. But the very centre of the literary activity of the Buddhists was Kośala (Ibid., p. 183).

Dr. Keith is right in pointing out that the brahmanical civilization doubtless centred in the region of Kurukṣetra or the middle country especially among the Kuru-Pāṇcālas, but it spread beyond these limits to the land of the Kōśālas and Videhas as well as to even more remote regions (Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 9-10). It must be admitted that although the extension of Brahmanism from the land of the Kurus and Pāṇcālas to Kōśāla was comparatively late, the Aryan occupation of the country went back to an earlier period (Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 308-309).

From the discussions held by the Kōśālans with Buddha and the stories related about them in the Petavatthu and its commentary, it is evident that the Kosalans believed in the existence of soul after death. They had the notion that people had to suffer tortures after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done by them while on earth. The Paramatthadīpani on the Petavatthu records many instances which go to show how people of Kōśāla underwent various torments after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done while alive. For example, we are told that the two sons of a king of Kōśāla who were handsome in their youth committed adultery. They were re-born as petas (spirits) residing on the moat surrounding Kōśāla and used to make terrible noise at night. (See also the stories of Pañcaputtakhādakapeta, Akkharukkhapeta, Goṇapeta, in my work 'The Buddhist Conception of Spirits,' pp. 44-45).

Once Dighāvu, prince of Kōśāla, found the king of Benares lying in a forest. He captured the king who murdered his parents.

But remembering the advice of his parents, he simply frightened the helpless king who appealed to him and the prince after being assured that there would in future be no dissension or anything of the like nature, forgave the king. The king swore an oath and gave his daughter in marriage to the prince and established him in the kingdom that belonged to his father. (Ibid., III, pp. 139-140). Mahākōśāla, father of king Pasenadi of Kōśāla, married his daughter Kōśālā to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and gave her a village in Kāśī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Jātakas, II, p. 164; Ibid., IV, p. 216). Pasenadi of Kōśāla took Ajātasattu prisoner and afterwards gave him his own daughter Vajirā in marriage. (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. IV, pp. 216-217). Vajirā was given the village of Kāśī which was for a long time the bone of contention between

Brahmanic
influence.

Spirit-belief of
the Kōśālans.

Matrimonial
alliances with
neighbouring
powers.

the two families. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 77). Thus we see that the royal houses of Kāśī, Kōśala, and Magadha were inter-related through matrimony.

In Kōśala the form of government was monarchical (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. 1, p. 131; cf. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 114). The inhabitants of Savatthī, the capital of Kōśala, used to assemble together and form a *gaya* or guild (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 40).

It is interesting to note as the 'Cambridge History of India' (1, p. 100) points out that India appeared as a number of kingdoms and republics with a constant tendency towards amalgamation. This process had proceeded further in Kōśala than elsewhere; that great kingdom was by far the most important state in northern India in the sixth century B. C.

The first important state to be absorbed by Kōśala was Kāśī. The kings of Kāśī and Kōśala were from the beginning constantly at war with each other. In one of the Jātaka stories an account is given of the constant warfare carried on between these two neighbouring monarchies. Sometimes victory lay with one side and sometimes with the other. At times they were evidently united, most probably by conquest as is shown by the phrase *Kāśī-Kōśala* in Vedic literature. We read in a Jataka story that once the king of Benares marched against the king of Kōśala, killed the king and carried off his queen to make her his own wife. When the king was killed, his son escaped and shortly afterwards collected a mighty force and came to Benares with the object of fighting with its reigning king. Information was sent to the king of Benares to this effect. The king of Benares was ready for the fight. But the mother of the young prince sent word to her son advising him not to fight but to blockade the city so that people would be worn out for want of food and water. The young prince did so. The citizens could not bear starvation and on the seventh day they beheaded their king and brought the head to the prince of Kōśala. The prince entered the city and made himself king (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. 1, p. 243).

Again, in another Jātaka story we read that on the death of his father Prince Goodness ascended the throne of Benares. One of his ministers committed sin in the king's harem. The king came to know of this, found the minister guilty and drove him out of his kingdom.

Thus driven, the minister came to the king of Kōśāla and became his confidential adviser. The minister requested the Kōśālan king to attack the kingdom of Benares because the king of that country was very weak. Thus advised the Kōśālan king twice sent his men to massacre the villagers of Benares and they came back with presents. At last the king of Kōśāla, determined to attack the kingdom of Kāśī, set out with his troops and elephants. The king of Benares had gallant warriors who were ready to resist the march of the Kōśālan king but they were not permitted to do so. The king of Kōśāla asked pardon from the king of Kāśī and gave back the kingdom of Kāśī which he took. The Kōśālan king punished the slanderous traitor and went back to his kingdom with his troops and elephants (Jātakas, vol. I, pp. 128-133).

Further, we read in the same work that once the king of Benares was seized by Dabhasena, king of Kōśāla and was fastened by a cord and hung with head downwards. The king of Benares, however, did not entertain any malicious feeling towards the rebel prince, and by a process of complete absorption, entered upon a state of mystic meditation and bursting his bonds sat cross legged in the air. The rebel prince felt a burning sensation all over his body. The minister told the king that he was thus suffering for tormenting the king of Benares who was a holy man. At last Dabhasena begged pardon and restored his kingdom to the king of Benares (Jātakas III, p. 202).

The Jātakas further inform us that on one occasion the king of Benares attacked the Kōśāla country and took the king prisoner. There he set up royal officers as governors and himself having collected all the available treasure returned with his spoil to Benares. The king of Kōśāla had a son named Chatta who fled while his father was taken prisoner. He came to Taxila and educating himself went to a wood where he met some ascetics from whom he learnt all that the ascetics could teach him. Gradually the prince became the leader of the ascetics. He came to Benares with the ascetics and spent the night in the king's garden. The next morning the ascetics came to the door of the palace. The king saw them and was charmed with their deportment. The king asked them to sit on the dais and put to them various questions. Chatta, the leader of the ascetics, answered them all and won the king's heart. The king asked him to stay in the garden with the ascetics. Chatta knew the spell by which he could find out where the hidden treasure was. He came to know that it was in the

garden. He then introduced himself to the ascetics. Then Chatta with the ascetics fled to Sāvattthi with the hidden treasure. There he had all the king's officers seized, and recovering his kingdom, restored the walls and watch-towers. He made the city invincible against alien invasion and took his residence there (Cowell, *Jātakas*, III, pp. 76-78).

The Sonananda Jataka records a fight between Manoja, king of Benares and a king of Kōśāla. Manoja pitched his camp near the city of Kōśāla and sent a message to the king asking him either to give battle or to surrender himself. The king was enraged and accepted the challenge. A fierce fight ensued. The king of Kōśāla was advised to submit to king Manoja of Benares. The king of Kōśāla agreed and was taken to Manoja who was thus entreated, "the king of Kōśāla submits to you, Sir, let the kingdom still belong to him". King Manoja assented. (*Jātakas*, Cowell, vol. V., pp. 166 167).

From the Jātaka stories of the two neighbouring countries of Kāśī and Kōśāla, it is evident that there was mutual jealousy between the two kingdoms, and a constant spirit of hostility actuated the rival royal houses. Each was looking out for an opportunity for inflicting a defeat on the other and of annexing either the whole or at least part of the other's dominions. Sometimes they also appear to have been connected by matrimony and it is probable that the two countries were united sometimes by conquest and sometimes perhaps by a common heir succeeding to the throne of both the countries.

As we have already said that king Mahakośāla, father of Pāsenadi, married his daughter Kōśaladevi to Bimbisara king of Magadha and granted her a village of the Kāśī country yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand as her *nabana-cuppa-mula*, i.e. bath and perfume money. When Ajātaśatru put his father Bimbisara to death, Kōśaladevi died of grief. For some time after her death, Ajātaśatru continued to enjoy the revenues of the village, but Pāsenadi, king of Kōśāla, resolved that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance, and so confiscated it. Thus there was a war between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit with the result that Ajātaśatru was at first victorious but he was afterwards taken prisoner by the Kōśalan king and was bound in chains. After punishing him thus for some days he was released and was advised not to do so in future. By way of consolation he was given by the Kōśalan king his own daughter Vajira in marriage.

Kōśāla and
Magadha.

He was afterwards dismissed with great pomp (Car. Lec., 1918, pp. 76-77; and Cowell, *Jātakas*, vol. IV, pp. 216-217).

Dr. Bhandarkar points out that some parts of Kōśala were annexed to the kingdom of Magadha during the reign of Ajātaśatru. (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 79).

Annexation of
Kōśala by
Magadha.

We have already seen that Ajātaśatru married a princess of Kōśala. His mother was a lady of the famous Licchavi tribe. He waged successful wars against both the Licchavis and his consort's kingdom. Kōśala disappears from history as an independent kingdom and evidently was absorbed by Magadha. (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 46).

In the north the Kōśala country bordered on the region occupied by the Śākyas and there were mutual jealousies between the two peoples that often developed into war. Thus we are told that the Śākyas became the vassals of king Pāsenadi of Kōśala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha (*Dialogues of Buddha*, pt. III, p. 80).

Kōśala and
Śākyas.

The capital cities of Kōśala were Sāvattthī and Sāketa. Many fanciful theories have been started to explain the name Sāvattthī.

According to one view Sāvattthī is so called because it was resided in by the sage Sāvatttha. In the *Papañcasūdanī* the commentator holds that everything required by human beings is to be found there; hence it is called sabba+atthi = Sāvattthī. In answer to a question by some merchants as to what the place contained, it was told 'sabbam atthi' (there is everything). Hence it is called Sāvattthī. (*Papañcasūdanī*, I, pp. 59-60).

Capital cities.

According to the *Purāṇas*, Śrāvastī is said to have been built by king Śrāvasta, eighth in descent from Vivakṣu, son of Ikṣvāku (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Ch. 2, Aṃśa 4; cf. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 9th skandha, Ch. 6, śl. 21). Again in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, we read that king Śrāvasta of the Kakutstha family built in the Gauḍa country a city named Śrāvasta (Ch. 21, śl. 30; *Kurma-purāṇa*, Ch. 23, śl. 19; *Linga-purāṇa*, ch. 95). Sāvattthī was situated in what is now the province of Oudh (Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 290). It is now known beyond all doubt as Maheth of the village group Saheth-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918 p. 51).

Śrāvastī in the
Purāṇas.

The Pali-Buddhist literature is full of facts regarding Sāvattthī

and her glories. Many of the most edifying discourses were delivered by Buddha at the Kośala capital which was the place of residence of two of the most munificent donors of the Buddhist sangha, viz., Anāthapiṇḍika, the great merchant and Visākhā Migāramātā, the most liberal hearted of the ladies about whom the Buddhist literature holds any record.

Sāvattthī in the Buddhist literature.

In the *Vimānavatthu* we read that the Kośalans and specially the Sāvattthians were remarkable for their charity which, they believed, was one of the many principal ways of acquiring heavenly bliss.

Kośalans -- charitable.

Again we hear that when Buddha was at Sāvattthī, there was a woman who was very faithful and obedient to her husband. She had patience and was not subject to anger, never used harsh words even when she was irritated, was truthful, and had faith in Buddha. She used to make offerings according to her means. After death she was reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven and enjoyed heavenly bliss (*Patibbatāvimāna*, V. Com., pp. 56-57). Again in the *Suñisāvimāna* we read that at Sāvattthī an arahat went to a house for alms. The daughter-in-law of the family, seeing the arahat, was filled with joy and ardour, and with great devotion offered some portion of the cakes which she had got for her own use. The therā accepted the offering and went away blessing her. In consequence of this religious merit she after death was reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven (V. C., p. 61). There lived in the town of Kimbila a householder's son named Rohaka who was a believer in Buddha, and there was in another family of equal status, in the same town, a mild and gentle girl who on account of her merits was called Bhaddā. Rohaka married the girl Bhaddā. One day two chief disciples of Buddha, in course of their tour, came to the town of Kimbila. Rohaka invited the two disciples with their followers, offered them good food, drink and various other things, with his wife served them in every way, and listening to their discourses embraced Buddhism and received the five silas (V. Com., pp. 109-110). When Buddha was at Jetavana in Sāvattthī, there was at Nālakagāma a family of two daughters named Bhaddā and Subhaddā. Bhaddā went to her husband's house. She was faithful and intelligent but barren. She requested her husband to marry her sister whose son, if born, would be like her own son and the family line would be continued thereby. Persuaded by her, the husband married Subhaddā who was always ins-

tructed by Bhaddā to offer charity, to observe the precepts and to perform other meritorious deeds diligently and in consequence of this she would be happy in this world and in the next. Subhaddā acted according to her advice and one day she invited Revata. The thera, however, in order to secure comparatively great blessings for her, took it as an invitation to the Saṅgha and went to her house accompanied by eleven other bhikkhus and Subhaddā offered good food and drink to them. The thera approved of her charity and as a result of feeding the saṅgha, she, after death, was reborn in the Nimmānarati heaven (V. C., pp. 149-156).

The Dīgha Nikāya informs us that immediately after Buddha's parinibbāṇa, Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana. Subha, son of Todeyya came to Sāvattthi on some business. Subha invited Ānanda who accepted the invitation. He had a talk with Ānanda about the dhammas preached by the Blessed One e.g. ariyasīlakkhandha, ariya-samādhikkhandha and ariyapaṇṇākkhandha (Dīgha Nikāya, I, pp. 204 foll).

There were many merchants at Sāvattthi (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 26). Sāvattthian merchants used to go to Videha with cartloads of merchandise to sell their wares there. They used to take commodities from Videha. Some merchants of Sāvattthi went to Suvarṇabhūmi in a ship (Ibid., p. 38). Again we read that some merchants of Sāvattthi went to the northern regions (Uttarāpatha) taking with them five hundred cartloads of merchandise (Ibid., p. 76).

Sāvattthi, was visited by the two famous Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hsien Tsang, but the glories of the once splendid capital of the Kōśāla had departed at the time of their visit. When Fa-Hien who visited India in the fourth century A. D. went to Srāvastī, the inhabitants of the city were few amounting in all to a few more than two hundred families. The pilgrim refers to Prasenajit of Kōśāla, and saw the place where the old vihāra of Mahā-pajāpati Gotamī was built, the wells and walls of the house of Anāthapiṇḍika, and the site where Aṅgulimāla attained arahatship. Topes were built in all these places. Envious brāhmaṇas who cherished bitter hatred in their heart wished to destroy them but in vain (Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, pp. 55-56).

Anāthapiṇḍika built a vihāra at Sāvattthi famous as Jetavanavihāra which was originally of seven storeys. This vihāra was dedicated to Buddha and the Buddhist Church by Prince Jeta (Ibid., pp. 56-57).

Cunningham points out on the authority of Hiuen Tsang that five centuries after Buddha or one century after
History of Kaniṣka, Vikramāditya, king of Śrāvastī, became a perse-
Sāvasthī. cutor of the Buddhists, and the famous Manorhita, author
 of the Vibhāṣaśāstra, being worsted in argument by the brāhmaṇas, put himself to death. During the reign of his successor, the brāhmaṇas were overcome by Vasubandhu, the eminent disciple of Manorhita. In the third century A. D. Śrāvastī seems to have been under the rule of its own kings as we find Khīradhāra and his nephew mentioned as rājas between A. D. 275 and 319. Still later Śrāvastī was only a dependency of the powerful Gupta dynasty of Magadha as the neighbouring city of Sāketa is especially said to have belonged to them. From this time Śrāvastī gradually declined. In A. D. 400 it contained a few families and in A. D. 600 it was completely deserted.

Another important town of Kośala was Sāketa which was certainly
Sāketa. the capital of Kośala in the period immediately
 preceding Buddha (Car. Lec. 1918, p. 51). The road from Sāketa to Sāvasthī was haunted by robbers who were dangerous to passers-by. Even the bhikkhus who had very little in their possession were robbed of their scanty belongings and sometimes killed by the robbers. Royal soldiers used to come to the spot where robbery was committed, and used to kill those robbers whom they could arrest. (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 220-221).

Besides Sāvasthī and Sāketa we find mention of other towns
 in the Kośala country e.g. Daṇḍakappaka, Nalakapāna, Setavya and Paṅkadhā. Once Buddha went
Other towns to Daṇḍakappa, a town of Kośala. He gave a dis-
of Kośala. course to Ānanda on Devadatta's fall into the Avīci Hell (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 402 foll). Buddha once visited Nalakapāna, a town of Kośala. There he dwelt at Palasavana. He gave religious instructions to the bhikkhus on an uposatha night. After giving a long discourse, he requested Sāriputta to continue it (A. N., IV, pp. 122 foll). Once Kumārakassapa with a large number of bhikkhus went to Setavya. Pāyāsi was the chief at the place. He enjoyed enormous wealth given by Pasenadi, king of Kośala. He was a false believer but his false belief was dispelled by Kumārakassapa. Many brāhmaṇa householders together with Pāyāsi went to Kumārakassapa and held discussions with him about the next world, beings not born in mother's womb, and the result of good and bad karmas (D. N., II, pp. 316 foll).

Buddha went to Paṅkadhā, a town of Kośala. Kassapagotta,

a bhikkhu, was dwelling there. Buddha gave him instructions about precepts but he did not like his instructions (A. N., vol. I, p. 236).

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (vol. IV, pp. 374 foll), we find the mention of a village named *Toraṇavatthu*, a village between *Sāvattthi* and *Sāketa*. In this village, *Khemā bhikkhunī* observed the lent; and here *Pasenadi*, on his way from *Sāketa* to *Sāvattthi*, spent one night. He was informed of *Khemā bhikkhunī*. He went to her and put to her questions regarding life after death; and she answered them to the king's satisfaction (S. N., vol., IV, pp. 374 foll).

BIMALA CHARAN LAW

MISCELLANY

Oriental Studies in Russia

The difficulties of the Russian language always place a serious obstacle in the way of those foreigners who for one reason or another are, or might be, interested in a more intimate knowledge of Russia. Diffusion of first-hand information would be all the more desirable for mutual understanding, as the country, always living separated by long distances and difficult communications, has long since become one, concerning which many imaginary and fabulous stories are told. It is remarkable how many misconceptions are firmly established in the public opinion of Western Europe, so that even educated and well-informed people often repeat these ridiculous inventions as truth itself.

Of late the mutual acquaintance of Russia and Western Europe has been growing, since the Great War has given it a strong impetus. Of the greatest importance was the last revolution, which compelled something like three millions of Russians, mostly belonging to the better and more educated classes, to seek refuge abroad from the untold brutality of the Socialists. Intentionally or unintentionally these large numbers of exiles were making Russian matters more widely known all over the world, and the people who used to repeat fantastic stories about Russia had an opportunity to learn the reality. But still there are many sides of Russian life which are not sufficiently well-known.

One such obscure aspect of Russian activities is its large and important contribution to Oriental research. This must be very interesting to every student of Oriental subjects. If research in scientific and other matters of universal interest has long become an international institution rather than a domestic affair of a particular nation, this is still more so in matters of Oriental research. The facilities for work are much limited, because a study of Oriental philology and literature cannot be regarded as a paying occupation, and therefore only a few scholars can devote themselves to this arduous work with the help of patronage from the state. Naturally, these studies on an extensive scale can be patronised only by those states which have permanent and important interests in the East. Such states are not numerous and the literature on Eastern matters, in its different subdivisions, is so small that every new serious work is of great importance, in whatever language it may appear.

Russia has always been one of the countries with very extensive interests in the East, and has produced a great number of most important works on Oriental subjects. The interest in this branch of literature gradually rose in the Western centres at the end of the last century. Already August Müller, an eminent German Arabist, had studied Russian and recommended the study of this language to the younger Orientalists. Of the latter there are many brilliant scholars who have done this. It is sufficient to mention the names of Prof. Pelliot in France, Sir E. Denison Ross, and Sir T. Arnold in England. But what is accessible to such eminent specialists cannot have become as yet the possession of wider circles, and an average Oriental student in Western Europe, especially in England, knows very little as to what is going on with regard to his special subject in Russia.

In India, where there is very small contact with the foreign centres of Oriental research, or with the different institutions in the foreign countries, some information as to the general character of Oriental studies in Russia may be interesting. This note attempts to supply such information in a very summary form, because the subject would require a volume to be treated adequately and in detail.

Whilst the majority of the Western nations first became interested in the various Eastern countries from the view-point of commerce, the matter was quite different in Russia. Its geographical position made it a sort of what nowadays is called a "buffer-state" between Western Europe, and at that time, the turbulent, East. So it became a kind of wall behind which western civilisation could thrive. During the whole of a thousand long years of Russian history, there was almost no serious struggle with the West, but a continual strife against the invaders from the East. Mediaeval Russia with her extensive Eastern policy and frequent embassies to and from the different Oriental courts was much better informed about the geography and political life of the East than Western Europe. Special records were kept in the foreign office of that time ; people who knew Oriental languages were employed ; and maps were drawn up. All this activity received a great development by the end of the XVIIIth century, when there appeared at the head of Russia one of the greatest organising geniuses the world has ever known namely Peter the Great.

It was then that the study of the East was set on a firm basis and organised into a system. In 1727 the Russian Academy of Sciences was founded, and it was its duty to carry on this research, which since that time has given rise to an extensive literature on Oriental subjects, rich collections of manuscripts, books, ethnological collections, coins, and

other matters connected with the East. In course of time, the collection became so extensive that it was found necessary to accommodate them in separate institutions. In 1818 the books, manuscripts, etc., were brought together in a special library the so called Asiatic Museum. The ethnological and anthropological collections were concentrated in the Ethnological Museum in 1837. Recently, under the special patronage of Alexander III, a new ethnological Museum, dealing only with Russia, was established in 1897, and called the Russian Museum. It contains also a great many materials concerning Asia.

The study of Oriental languages was originally introduced on the same lines as other disciplines in the different Russian universities. Special faculties were created when in 1858 all the studies concerned with the East became centralised in the so called 'Oriental faculty', or the Faculty of the Oriental languages, literatures, and history, in the University of St. Petersburg. It has not only given Russia a great number of good specialists, but also considerably promoted a general interest in the study of the Eastern subjects amongst those who though not scholars had, for different reasons, to come into contact with it.

Afterwards special needs, or occasional opportunities, led to the establishment of different secondary institutions for the study of particular groups of languages, Oriental archaeology, etc., from different points of view and for different (chiefly practical) purposes in St. Petersburg itself as well as in Moscow, and in many provincial cities. Libraries, museums, etc., were also started in different parts of the Empire.

A considerable share in such research was always taken by the Russian Oriental Society, and also to a certain extent, the Geographical Society. The former was established in 1846. Its real title was "The Oriental section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society." Its "Zapiski" or Bulletin has gained general recognition in all circles of Orientalists.

The Russian Imperial Geographical Society, founded in 1845, did not, naturally, limit its activities to Oriental geography but its Journal contains treasures of information concerning ethnological problems of Asia. The character of Russian Oriental research has always been different from that peculiar to such work in some other countries. Russians have done well chiefly as explorers and pioneers in different directions rather than as those who combine the materials, brought by others, into admirable works of great finish.

In Oriental research Russia has chiefly contributed to the knowledge of the Far East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. In Sinology, and the study of the Paleoasiatic languages of Siberia, Russian work takes a

most important place. The same is true with regard to the studies of Mongolian literature and the Mongolian dialects.

That most important branch of Oriental research, Turkology, has chiefly developed in Russia where there always has been a considerable number of good specialists in that subject.

Much has been done for the studies of the Iranian languages. The researches into Kurdish and Persian dialects, the study of the Iranian population of the Oxus valley, etc., have been most important.

The whole group of most different languages, spoken in the Caucasus, such as the tongues of the hill-men, Georgian, Armenian, etc., have always formed a prominent part of the studies.

To this may be added a large amount of work done in the direction of investigation of the literatures in all these languages, a deep study of the history of Central Asia and the connected countries, their archaeology, etc. All these results constitute a large inheritance, and it is a matter of national pride that a large proportion of what has been written consists of works of permanent value which have been useful since the time of their first appearance and will not entirely lose their importance for at least a long period to come.

Indian studies in Russia have always been in a peculiar position. The absence of direct interests in the country, which might be of any practical concern, could not make this branch of research very popular. Sanskrit, however, and other Indian languages were studied not only for purely philological purposes, but also for the exploration of Buddhistic literature. The Russian government had a large number of Buddhist subjects, in fact, several millions of Qalmuqs, Qirghizes, Yaquits, Buryats, Mongols, etc. It was in order to learn more about their customs and religions that Buddhistic studies were encouraged.

For studying the Buddhistic literature of the Mongols, the Chinese, the Tibetans, etc., the Russian scholars had naturally to refer very often to the Sanskrit and Pāli originals. This circumstance has brought about this state of things that almost all eminent Russian Indianists were exclusively interested in the Buddhistic literature. In 1897 even a special series was started by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences for the publication of Buddhistic works called the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

These studies began fairly early in the beginning of the XIXth century. The first press possessing a Nāgarī alphabet was founded in St. Petersburg in the middle of the reign of Alexander I, who died in 1825. One of the greatest achievements was the famous dictionary of Prof. Böhtlingk, about the middle of the last century.

Since that time there have been many people who have studied Pāli and Sanskrit for the needs of comparative philology, etc. But the real specialists were Vasiliev and after him Minayev; the latter chiefly studied Pāli. His pupil, Prof. Stecherbatski, is an eminent specialist in Buddhist philosophy, and has published several large works on the system of the Buddhist theory of knowledge by Dharmakīrti and others. It is most regrettable that his very talented pupil, O. Rosenberg, quite a young man, died in 1919.

Another very eminent Indianist, S. Oldenburg, was chiefly interested in Buddhist art. He undertook an interesting expedition to the ruins of various sand-buried cities of Central Asia, and has brought home much new material. His important post as Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences takes far too much of his time to allow him to concentrate his labours on some definite subject of research in which he has specialized. There is a number of other, less eminent, specialists in Sanskrit and Pāli who either lecture on these languages, or study them from the purely philological point of view.

Everybody would naturally like to know what has become of Oriental studies in Russia during the recent cataclysm. It would be indeed difficult to expect that amidst the terrible events which took place, the Orientalists should have been able to quietly continue their work.

Research and the publication of new works have certainly been paralysed to a great extent; only a few works which had been in the press at the time of the revolution have appeared after a long delay. At present, all the surviving specialists have to suffer hard times because they have to earn their livelihood with great difficulty.

Judging from what is going on in St. Petersburg, much has been done in the way of renaming the old institutions, or splitting them up into several independent bodies. There may perhaps have been special reasons for this, God knows. But the measure has not added to the number of active workers. It has fallen disastrously owing to death and other causes. Those who remain are doing their best to preserve the high standards established by the previous, more lucky, generations.

It will indeed be a very great loss to the civilised world if Oriental research in Russia remains long in its present condition. The tradition in scholarly matters, the true spirit of research are plants which require long years, even centuries, to grow. They can be easily destroyed, but cannot be improvised. There is still so much to be done in the way of research all over Asia. Even in India, where much has already been achieved there still remains almost boundless field for research.

Progress of Historical Research in the Madras Presidency

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in the course of his Report for the year 1921-22 notes the discovery of a few Jaina monuments in the Ganjam District, a cavern containing a standing Jaina image at Sailada, a village near the Chicacole Road Railway Station, and a huge seated image of a Jaina *Tirthaṅkara* close to the tank of Mandasa. These are finds in addition to the Buddhist stūpa at Sāli-huṇḍam discovered in 1919. Moreover there are some Kaidumba records of the 7th and 8th centuries; and one record of an early Eastern Chalukya king Indravarman commonly called Indra Bha-ttāraka which proves that this king who ruled only for a few days did ascend the throne.

The Sanskrit inscription engraved in very archaic Telugu characters of about the 5th century A. D. discovered at the Poḍiḡaḡa Hill in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam District is important. It belongs to the so-called dynasty of the Nalas who were among the early opponents of the expansion of the dominions of the early Western Chalukyas. It is surmised that this Nala dynasty is different from the Nalas of the Konkan destroyed by the Chalukyas, for whom indeed we have had no direct evidence. These Nalas were in the Kalinga country and lost their dominion through the expansion of the Chalukyas. The present inscription records the foundation of a *satra* (feeding-house) by the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family in the 12th year of his reign. The name of the son could not be made out definitely. This record and another of the 11th century referring possibly to a chief of the Gajapati line, found also in the Jeypore Agency, show that the Circars Agency tracts were not the deserted and backward regions as they are now--a conclusion which is strengthened by the numerous architectural remains of the wild Bastar State on the North.

Two records of the Cholas, both of Rājārāja the Great (985-1013 A. D.) give us instances of the royal audit of temple accounts; and one of them notes how the Brāhmaṇas who misappropriated the temple lands were punished. Two other inscriptions (Nos. 240 and 241 of Appendix C) of Rājārāja which come from Tenneri

record that the village assembly of Uttama Chola Caturvedimaṅgalam met in the temple and laid down that only those who were capable of reciting the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* could be elected as members of the village supervision committee (Ūr-vāriyam). A record of Rājakeśavivarman, *alias* Udaiyar Rajadhirājadeva (No. 239 of Appendix C.) says that the *adhikārīn* (superintendent) convened a general meeting of the great assembly of Uttama Chola Caturvedimaṅgalam in the hall called *Rājārājan* and after giving a patient hearing to the representation made by the village assembly that the original survey and classification of village lands was in a chaotic condition, "re-classified these lots, re-assessed them properly and instructed the assembly to have this order engraved on the walls of the temple".

Yet another inscriptional find of the year belonging to the 48th year, of Kulottuṅga I (the Chola-E-Chalukya Emperor (1070-1118) informs us that of one of his army captains presented some women of his family as *Devavadīyār* for service in the temple after branding them with the trident mark as an indication of their dedication to a life of service and devotion. This shows that this class had not degenerated into the immoral level that it represents in society now. We have also an inscriptional reference to *Periya-kōil-Nambi Tiruvarambaḡattamulanar*, a pupil and convert of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja in an inscription of Kulottuṅga Chola III of A. D. 1180. The very popular work of this convert is a poem of one hundred stanzas called *Rāmānuja-Nūrranlādi* expressive of the gratitude which he felt for his *guru* and which has now become so famous that it is called the *Prapannasāvitri* of the Vaiṣṇavas.

Kopperunjūgadeva, a Chola feudatory of the 13th century, figures in this year's finds both as a Chola subordinate and later an independant sovereign who issued grants in his own name. An inscription of his is found in the Kurnool District; and we know of his northern advance as far as Draksharam (in the Godavari District). He was one of the chief factors that contributed to the decline of the Chola power in the 13th century; and he claimed to have won supremacy over the Chola, Karnata and Pandya kings. He was also called *Khaḷgamalla* and *Kalbalipperunal* skilful with sword and his other *hirudas* *Bharatamalla* and *Sāhityaratnākara*, connote, if they are not mere poetic fancy, his culture and refinement. It has also been suggested that there might have been two *Kopperunjūgas*, father and son; for "from the 8th year of the reigning Kulottuṅga

Chola III (A. D. 1185) wherein *Avaniālappiranḍān Kāḍavarayan* figures to be an independent Kopperunjiṅga whose highest regnal year as hitherto discovered is 35, corresponding to A. D. 1277 or the calculation that he ascended the throne in A. D. 1243. there is an interval of over 90 years which is an impossibly long reign for a single sovereign." The inscriptions which appear in the name of Kopperunjiṅgadeva have therefore to be interpreted with great caution.

Among the records of the Vijayanagara rulers discovered, one belonging to Virūpākṣa I (Śaka 1301 to 1322 according to the genealogy furnished in p. 72. of the Epigraphist's Report for the Southern Circle, 1906-7) is very useful as it mentions the several taxes and duties realised from a village now made over to a temple, among which are included dues paid to the village watchman, contribution to the military captain, taxes on garden-lands, oil-mills, pay of the royal order-carrier and a number of other payments not familiar to us. Inscription No. 335 of 1921 dated Saka 1337 details also the several sources of revenue in the village, *Kadamai* and *Kudimai*. A record of Sriranga II of Vijayanagara (the Aravidu Dynasty) registers the undertaking given by the people of the *Nādu* to the official committee of management (*rājakārya bhāṇadāra*) that they would allow certain privileges to the three classes of artisans, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters, in accordance with the practice obtaining in the neighbouring regions.

The report contains a good note on Śrīperumbudin, the birth place of Rāmānuja which has become epigraphically important only from the 13th century, as well as a good essay on the typical South Indian temple which served as a powerful centre of social and economic life.

In the annual report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending March, 1923 is a note as to how the sculptures on the walls of the Tiruvāttur temple near Arcot, give us a picture of the intense cruelty of the mediæval Śaivites and of the grim side of their religious fanaticism, especially in the matter of Jain persecution. Inscription No. 666 of 1922 found on the entrance to the Varaha cave at Māmallapuram (Seven Pagodas) is dated in the 65th year of Nandipotavarman of the Pallava family. There has also been unearthed a copper plate record of the 61st year of Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and it is surmised on the basis of the high regnal years in the above records, that Nandipotavarman and Vijaya Nandivikramavarman must be identical with the Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman

III) of the Tandantottam plates and the Tiruvallam rock inscription. The date given in the Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram) record is the highest known till now; and the Tamil alphabet of the second record closely resembles that of the Tandantottam plates.

We have records to prove that more than one Pāṇḍya kings ruled together at a time. In the age of these Pāṇḍya and Chola kings (10th to 13th centuries) a large number of *maṭhas* grew in wealth and popularity; and it became a common feature to attach *maṭhas* to temples. In numerous cases these *maṭhas* held control over the affairs of the temples. They were generally very hospitable to pilgrims and maintained teachers for the expounding of the Vedas and the Śāstras and for reciting the Purāṇas. These *maṭhas* provided lodging and boarding to devotees and were "important centres of educational activity and moral and spiritual instruction". (See inscriptions No. 546 of 1922, No 357 of 1916, No 667 of 1916 and No 671 of 1916).

The following will prove to be of some interest to South Indian numismatists. The inscriptions discovered in the year referring to 10 rulers of the Kongu country give us the relative values of *varāhaṇ*, *payam*, *aachu* and *kalanju*. For burning one twilight lamp we find ten *varāhaṇ* being provided for in seven of the inscriptions and 10½ *payam* in one. There are also nearly ten records which provide one *kalanju* and a quarter for one twilight lamp; while an inscription (No. 581 of 1922) provides 2½ *aachu* for two lamps. Thus taking the amount deposited for one twilight lamp to be more or less constant, "we may tentatively suppose that *kalanju* and *aachu* were almost equal in value and about eight times that of *varāhaṇ-payam*".

We come across a poetess of the later Vijayanagara days one of whose verses commemorating the royal gift of *Svarṇa-meru* is inscribed in the Viṭthalasvāmī Temple at Hampi. It is conjectured that this poetess, by name Koduva Tirumalamba is perhaps identical with Tirumalamba, the author of a *Kāvya* (*Varadāmbikā parinayam*) which describes the marriage of Varadāmba with king Acyuta Rāya or with Mohanaṅgi the daughter of the great Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and the wife of the powerful Rāmarāja. This Koduva Tirumalamba is the second lady of the Vijaynagara ruling families gifted with poetic talents, the first being Gaṅgādevī the wife of Kamparāya II (Kumārakampa) who wrote the *Virukamparāya-caritam*.

An inscription of Acyutarāya of this year, dated Saka 1454, records the installation of the image of the god Yoga-Varada-Nṛsiṃhasvāmī in the courtyard of the Viṭthalasvāmī temple by the

great Mādhva teacher Vyāsātīrtha, the author of several works on Dvaita philosophy ; *e. g.* *Tātparyacandrikā* ; *Nyāyāmṛta* and *Tarkatāṇḍava*. The fact that the teacher was highly honoured by the Vijayanagara ruler Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is borne out in the introduction to Vol. VIII of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* ; and a paper was read at the recent Oriental conference held at Madras that Vyāsātīrtha, the disciple and Śrīpāda Rāja his preceptor, were so highly honoured that they were even allowed a brief occupation of the throne itself. From a 16th century work we are told that "at a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and presided over by Vyāsayati (Vyāsātīrtha), a mendicant of the Mādhva sect. Vallabhācārya defeated the opponents of the Vaiṣṇava religion." The *saṁāṭhi* of this teacher is shown in an island in the Tungabhadra river about half a mile to the east of Anegondi.

The report closes with a summary of the epigraphical references to the construction and maintenance of village tanks and channels and of the Jain vestiges discovered in Conjeevaram and its neighbourhood.

C. J. SRINIVASACHARI

Recent Discoveries in Sind and the Punjab

The archaeological discoveries recently made at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, and at Harappa by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni form an epoch-making event in Indology which has been compared, in its far-reaching importance in extending our knowledge of the history of human culture, with the discovery of the pre-Hellenic culture of Greece by Schliemann at Tiryns and Mycenae, and of the remains of Central Asian civilisation by Stein in the desert of Turkestan. Absence of ancient remains had hitherto made Indian archaeology come to an abrupt stop in the 3rd century B.C., which had long remained the upper limit of the historical period of Indian antiquity as illustrated by contemporary objects and documents. Pre-historic antiquities

of the usual type, illustrating the Stone, Copper, and Bronze Ages, were not wanting ; but the gap between the rude culture of the pre-historic burial sites and the highly advanced civilization of the Mauryan age was a very serious one. Before 300 B. C. the sole authority, and often a very unsatisfactory authority for the story of civilization in India was the various strata of Indian literature the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Upaniṣads*, Buddhist literature in Pāli, and in Gāthā and other dialects, and traditions in Jaina literature. All the fundamental questions of the origin and early history of Indian culture are shrouded in the darkness of an impenetrable mystery, which has left wide scope for guess-work and imagination of all sorts. The discoveries in Sindh and South Punjab, which have disclosed the relics of a high culture in its successive phases from the sub-neolithic dawn to what comparatively is the full light of the day in the 2nd century A. D. have directly increased our vision from centuries to millennia. We have received materials, specially from Mohen-jo-Daro,—remains of buildings and temples, pottery and terracotta, beads and glass-ware, crude porcelain, bronze and iron articles, and what is more, inscribed seals and copper coins and tokens—which solidly demonstrate the existence of a high culture of ancient India, comparable in antiquity and extent with those of Anon and Susa, of Babylon and Crete. There has been the greatest interest among scholars both in India and in Europe in these finds even within the short time that they have been made known. The discoveries were at first announced in small communications to the Indian press in 1923 and 1924, but the public and the scholastic world could not be sufficiently impressed by its importance. In September, 1924, Sir John Marshall, Director of Archaeology in India, formally announced to the scientific world the discoveries, with a well-illustrated note on their importance, in a paper to the *Illustrated London News* (September 20, 1924). There he compared these discoveries with those of Schliemann and Stein. This announcement attracted attention from the proper quarters. Prof. A. H. Sayce wrote to the *Illustrated London News* of Sept. 27, 1924, pointing out striking resemblances between some of Mohen-jo-Daro finds and those of Susa, which he thought indicated a very ancient contact between Indian and Susian cultures ; and Messrs C. J. Gadd and Sydney Smith in the *Illustrated London News* of October 4, 1924, demonstrated, by placing pictures of Indian and Babylonian objects side by side, how even more striking were the resemblances of

the Indian objects to the Sumerian ones, and how the characters on the seals, together with the device of the bull which they mostly bear, resembled in a remarkable manner the Babylonian linear characters of 3000-2400 B. C. and the figures of bulls in the Sumerian cylinder seals.*

These papers drew the attention of scholars and the general public in India, and the Mohen-jo-Daro finds now form the most important topic in Indology. The Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture, from the burial customs found there, would, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji and others, seem to be non-Aryan, and the older strata of this culture are, according to the same opinion, pre-Aryan. The presence of the Brahuis in Baluchistan lends very considerable support to the view that the people who built up this culture were primitive Dravidians. Mr. Banerji himself is inclined to connect the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture with that of Crete rather than with that of Babylon. The position in this connection as well as the Cretan argument has been outlined by me in a paper in the December number of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. There I have suggested an equation *Tamil Damil-Dramila-Dravula* and *Termilai-Tirmili* (the national name of the ancient Lycians of Asia Minor who were a people migrating from Crete whence they brought this name which he thinks may be supported from philological and other considerations. Possibly, this equation according to him offers a clue to the origin of the Dravidians, which might be Cretan.

We are waiting for further finds before a definite conclusion can be reached. All discussion of this question is now at the incipient stage. We are glad to hear that the excavations have been taken up seriously at Mohen-jo-Daro, and we are particularly pleased to learn that Sir John Marshall himself is directing the excavations, and Mr. R. D. Banerji, who was for sometime on leave owing to ill-health after his first excavations and was then placed in charge of the Eastern Circle has again gone to Sind to help in the excavations he had inaugurated. We are reading in the papers about further important finds at Mohen-jo-Daro and some other sites in the neighbourhood obtained by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent of Archaeology in the Western Circle. The

* One of these seals has been reproduced on the cover of this Quarterly as its device with the kind permission of the Director General of Archaeology—Ed.

number of inscribed seals so far discovered, we gather, has come up to several hundreds, showing a large variety of characters which are tantalizing us with their mystery. These characters have a unique resemblance to those of Babylon as Messrs. Gadd and Sydney Smith have shown. Their resemblance to the Cretan hieroglyphics and to the Cretan linear script is no less striking. It seems the whole problem is enclosed in these little inscriptions. Before they are read, nothing can be known. We are eagerly waiting for a Prinsep or possibly for another Champollion or Rawlinson to clear up their mystery and thus to bring in the light that does not exist now. Competent scholars, we may be sure, have already taken the matter in hand, or will take it in hand when sufficient material is published and placed at the disposal of scholars in Europe and America.

The next few months, or the next few years perhaps, it may be confidently said, have thus in store for us the unravelling of one of the most intricate problems in the history of India and in the history of human culture in general.

S. F. CHATTERJEE

The All-India Oriental Conference

THIRD SESSION

There can no doubt that the Third Session of the All India Oriental Conference, held last December in Madras, is one of the most important, if somewhat unassuming, gatherings in these days of conferences and congresses. To an outsider, the conference may appear as intended only for "antiquated fossils" and "dry-as-dust bookworms" who, like Browning's Grammarian, apparently waste their lives on things of no practical utility; but to one who is interested in things other than what is merely "practical" and narrowly utilitarian, it would be surely too late in the day to emphasise the importance of such an all-India conference of orientalist, now that the old Oriental Congress has been discontinued in Europe since the war. As a delegate of an humble Provincial university, the present writer greatly appreciated the opportunity that was thus given of meeting distinguished fellow-workers in

the field of oriental studies ; for such a meeting not only furnishes the much needed contact of mind with mind and enlarges one's outlook, but is often an inspiration to meet scholars hitherto known only by name or from their books.

No one can speak of the Third Session of the Conference without referring at the outset to the deep feeling of sorrow and the sense of irreparable loss to scholarship felt by all at the untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to whose interest and effort the Conference itself owes so much for its existence and who was to have presided over its deliberations in this very session. A fitting tribute was paid to that great man's memory by H. E. the Governor of Madras who opened the Conference. One could not but notice with regret, however, the absence of any representative from the University of Calcutta, now that Sir Ashutosh is not there to direct its policy.

The Conference sat for three days. It was in the fitness of things, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee pointed out, that one of the early meetings of the Conference should be held in Madras which, apart from Western influences, is one of the great centres of Dravidian culture in the history of Indian civilisation. Dr. Ganganath Jha, who worthily filled the chair occupied on the two former occasions by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Sylvain Lévi, declared with a modesty befitting that great scholar, that he had no pretensions of delivering a magnificent oration ; but one cannot but admire his wisdom in refraining from a purely academic speech and giving his audience the results of his mature and earnest thinkings on some problems of great practical importance, connected with oriental studies, to which attention could not be more forcibly drawn.

In his Presidential speech he rightly laments the lack of a central organisation for oriental research, and want of public sympathy for it. The ample earnest already given by the Bhandarkar Research Institute at Poona of the work that we may expect from such an organisation fully justifies all that Dr. Jha says on the subject ; and one need only add to this the splendid work done in Bengal by the Varendra Research Society, accidentally overlooked by him. But both these institutions are not sufficiently endowed, and are not centrally situated enough for the proverbially impecunious scholar to take full advantage of them. He suggests that the Universities, of which we have now nearly fifteen in India, should take this question up seriously, as is done in its own way by the Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University. There are indeed great difficulties in the way, but they are not insurmountable. Referring to the question of funds, the President remarks that it need

not discourage any University in this laudable enterprise, for "we do not want any expensive apparatus; We only want brains, a quiet place to work in, and a few books and manuscripts within our reach—all of which means comparatively little cost but "it does mean organisation.". The most serious handicap, however, is the want of public sympathy in the matter. The Post graduate Department of the Calcutta University, which is cited by the President in support of his proposal, has not so far received that amount of public support and sympathy which is its due; and this institution would have been killed by now but for the resourceful personality of Sir Asutosh.

The President then made some sound and practical suggestions on the question of the acquisition, preservation, and restoration as well as of utilisation and publication of manuscripts, with which any one who has thought over the subject will entirely agree. He reminded his audience that "this country is subject to such ravages of fire and water that each year we are losing in the shape of manuscripts burnt or washed or crumbled away an amount of treasure which could not be replaced in the future even at the expenditure of millions of rupees; and the callousness which the public displays towards this would be appalling anywhere else except in this unfortunate country". There has been enough search of manuscripts and cataloguing of them, but the question of acquiring them either by purchase or transcripts has not received as much attention in this country as it deserves. Excellent work has been done in this direction by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and lately by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library; but many scholars have learnt with regret the proposal of discontinuing the Government grant to the latter institution. Even a small University like the one to which the present writer has the privilege of belonging has thought it fit to make a grant for starting a collection of manuscripts and has invited public support in this direction.

The President also makes a very wise suggestion of starting under the auspices of the Conference "a Book-bulletin" or register (with a note of prices and publishers) of all oriental publications made from year to year. In his own words, "At present we do not know what works have been printed; much less do we know what works are in the course of publication; and we are seriously handicapped by this want of information". The President has not also forgotten to refer to the importance of vernacular research, and has done well in combating the opinion of some people that these researches are on a lower level, requiring inferior attainments and weaker equipment.

He refers in this connexion to the excellent work done by the Nāgari Pracārini Sabhā and by the numerous organisations in South India ; but he might have also referred to the work of the Calcutta University and of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, both of which institutions, besides encouraging a scientific study of the vernaculars, also possess excellent collections of Bengali manuscripts.

One very important and eloquent feature of the President's address was the appeal made by him for a proper recognition of the indigenous Paṇḍits and Maulavis as occupying an important place in the scheme of oriental study. As early as 1883 Peterson acknowledged obligations to "the accuracy, learning, and energy, so ruthlessly deprecated" of the indigenous scholar ; and what he said more than forty years ago may be repeated even today. The evils of "title-examination," a cheap pass-port to recognition, have already laid the axe at the root of traditional oriental scholarship and its method of specialisation ; but even today scholars of the old type, who may be regarded as the variable store-house of traditional learning, have not altogether disappeared from this country. It is possible that people still realize the value of such scholars ; but they do not realize the danger of their best qualities disappearing under the so-called reforms through which they are now forced. The President, combining in himself, as he does, the virtues of the traditional and the modern methods of scholarship, made a vigorous appeal "not to try to modernise the Paṇḍit and the Maulavi." "If you try to modernise him" he warns "he will disappear. He does not possess perhaps the wide outlook of the modern scholar ; but he more than makes up for that by his depth of learning. His outlook you cannot enlarge, at least, to the extent of benefiting him. Why then make an attempt to deprive him of his distinguishing characteristics,—characteristics by which alone he has in the past commanded respect and whereby he can command respect in the future ?"

We have tried to give in some detail some of the important questions dealt with by the President in his address, because we think that those questions deserve careful consideration by all interested in oriental study. Some of those questions (e.g. the question relating to manuscripts) have, no doubt, been emphasised more than once before, but very few will doubt that they would bear authoritative repetition, over and over again, until more organised attempt is made to solve them.

The second day of the Conference and a part of the third day were taken up with the reading of the papers contributed. In this connexion we have a few remarks to make, which, we hope, will not be misunderstood by our friends in Madras who accorded to us such a cordial

welcome and whose courtesy and kindness we all appreciated. The arrangement for the reading and discussion of these papers was not all that could be desired. The number of papers was more than 150. A volume containing summaries of these papers was indeed distributed among the members on the first day of the Conference ; but the total bulk of the contribution was enormous, and the summaries (which should have been circulated, if at all, much earlier) could never be adequate for a proper discussion of the problems raised in some of them. It must not be forgotten that while a paper can be printed and published* one of the most important features of such conferences should be the discussion, formal or informal, the interchange of thought, the comparison of experiences. Opportunities for such discussion were hardly allowed in the Literary Section at least by an indiscriminate reading of all the papers within the time-limit of ten minutes to each paper. One can understand that to discriminate between important and unimportant papers (from the point of view of scholarship as well as of general or technical interest) presented difficulties ; but these difficulties were not solved by allotting the papers to three or four sections and allowing all papers to be read indiscriminately without any particular order or principle within a fixed time-limit. We understand that this time limit and this arrangement were not followed in some sections, but in the Literary Section it led to a great deal of confusion and loss of interest. The hall in which this particular section was held was unfortunately too big to make the papers that were read audible even to the listeners on the third row of seats ; and one need not express any surprise that there was no discussion on any paper in this section, nor could one blame those contributors who wisely refrained from reading their papers under such conditions. One, however, must not lose sight of the fact that the number of the papers was somewhat unmanageable : it is, however, an index of the great interest taken in the Conference, which has tempted scholars from all parts of India to make its deliberations imposing and worthy of its name by varied and weighty contributions.

Indeed, one must admit that there was no lack of intellectual ministrations in the conference ; there was also no dearth of recreation and amusement for the diversion of the scholars after their scholarly labours. Much credit is due to the organisers of the Conference for the various entertainments and social functions that were arranged for the

* We understand that the papers will be published by the Conference.

delegates and visitors. Of these, the *vāda* held in the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśāla, the clever enactment of the *Mṛcchakatika* by the students of the Madras Presidency College, the interesting lantern lecture on Indian Architecture, the musical afternoon devoted to a fine display of skill in South Indian music—not to speak of the “parties” given to the delegates—have been greatly appreciated.

The success of the Third Session of the Conference as well as the experience gathered in the previous sessions has amply justified the hope of all its well-wishers that the Conference has now come to stay. The number of papers contributed, the importance of the subjects dealt with, as well as the fairly large attendance of delegates from all parts of India - all go to strengthen this hope. We learn also from the Secretary that the appeal for support made by its organisers to the provincial governments, the Universities and the learned institutions has been readily responded to by generous contributions. It is also noteworthy that no less than four invitations reached the Conference to hold its next meeting at Allahabad, Benares, Lahore, and Baroda respectively; and although it decided to honour its present President by accepting the invitation of Allahabad, where the Conference will hold its Fourth Session in 1926, I was glad that so much interest has been taken in its activities all over India. It seems that the problem of funds need not worry us, nor need the problem of active support by scholars and interested institutions. The time has, therefore, come to consider seriously the question of putting the Conference on a stable and permanent basis. We are glad to find that the meeting of the delegates has appointed an all-India Committee to consider the question of a permanent constitution of the conference, as well as the advisability of having an organ of the Conference itself consisting of an all-India journal on oriental studies. Let us hope that the discontinuance of the Oriental Congress of Europe and the starting of an Oriental Conference in India will also materially help to bring back for all future time the scientific study of oriental subjects from Europe to India, which should, in the fitness of things, be the most important centre of such studies, as it was in the days of yore.

The Date of Maṇik Gaṅguli's Dharma Maṅgal

Maṇik Ram Gaṅguli is one of the writers on the legends of Dharma (Dharma maṅgala) in Bengal. According to Dr. Dines Chandra Sen, his book was written in 1547 A. D. (History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 371). I do not know how he got this date. The author himself gives the date of composition as follows :

সাক্ষেবি ঙ্গ সঙ্গে বেদ সমুদ্র দক্ষিণে ।

সিদ্ধ সহ যুগ দক্ষিণ যোগ তার সনে ॥

The first line as it stands is meaningless. Its correct reading must be :

শাক ঋতু সঙ্গে বেদ সমুদ্র দক্ষিণে ।

So the first line will give 647 and the second line 84 (I take সিদ্ধ to mean 84, as there are 84 *śūddhas*). The total of these i.e. 1491 Śaka era is the date of the composition of the book. This will give 1569 A. D.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

Oriental Studies in Japan

Information as to the provision that has been made in the various Universities of Japan for the study of Buddhism, Hindu philosophy, Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, etc., may be interesting to Indian scholars. In the Tokyo Imperial University, Dr. J. Takakura teaches Sanskrit while Drs. M. Anesaki, T. Kimura, and Nagayee are in charge of Indian religions, Hindu philosophy, and Pali respectively. In the Imperial University at Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, Prof. R. Sakaki teaches Sanskrit and Pāli, Dr. B. Machumata Hindu philosophy and religion, while U. Theramata Tibetan. In the Otani University the veteran scholar Dr. Nanjio the author of the *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka* was for sometime the Professor of Sanskritic studies. After his retirement his pupil H. Izumi took his place while Prof. C. Akanana conducts studies in Pāli and Buddhism. The well-known author of the 'Outline of Mahāyāna Buddhism' Prof. T. Suzuki belongs also to the staff of this University.

Prof. G. Harda is in charge of Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy in the Rykoko University. Indian Buddhism and History are taught there by Prof. R. Hadani. There is also provision for the teaching of these subjects in the Singan-su and Maysingi Universities. In the Sukeo University, Dr. U. Ogihara teaches Sanskrit and Pāli, and Dr. K. Watanabe Hindu philosophy and religion. Prof. Yamakami Sogen, sometime Reader of the Calcutta University and author of the *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, is a lecturer in Sanskrit in the So-da University and Dr. S. Taschibana is the teacher of Pāli there. Further enumeration of names may be tiresome ; suffice it to say, that arrangements for the teaching of the subjects mentioned above exist in the Universities of Toyo, Buzan, Washeda, Ke-o, and Sen-dai. Dr. H. Ui the well-known translator of the *Daśapadārtha* is the teacher of Sanskrit and the Indian philosophy in the University named last. Universities have been recently established in Korea and Pa ko oka. Provisions for the study of Indian subjects have also been made in these Universities.

R. KIMURA

REVIEWS

THE SANSKRIT DRAMA IN ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, THEORY, AND PRACTICE. By A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt. 405. pp. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.

Professor Keith's work is an excellent presentation of the origin and development of Sanskrit Drama within the limits set by the author for himself. It collects all materials, new and old, bearing on the subject, and sifts them with great ability, retaining what is important and rejecting what is valueless. It re-arranges the available data and re-thinks the entire subject. There is no doubt that it thus stands out as the safest guide on the subject. It is written in a lucid style which would make it acceptable to the layman and the scholar alike.

The first part of the work dealing with the question of origin has been written with great circumspection. The theme is highly controversial, and though one may not see eye to eye with Dr. Keith in all he says regarding the origin of the Sanskrit Drama, his searching examination of all earlier theories (especially those of Schroeder, Hertel, Hillebrandt, and Ridgeway) is very illuminating.

Another interesting feature of the book is the consideration of the style and technique of the individual dramatists, left out by Lévi in his works but one wishes that the author had more space to devote to it, as it certainly has a wider literary appeal.

There are a few points to which the author's attention may be drawn :

The derivation of modern Bhāṭ from the term Bhārata (though it has the sanction of Lévi) is extremely far fetched. The Bhāṭs, especially in Bengal, *are not all reciters*. The more obvious derivation would be that it is a Prākṛt form of Bhaṭṭa.

One finds it hard to agree with Dr. Keith in his remark that the *Mṛcchakatika* is in no sense a transcript from life, but an elaborate literary drama based on the Bhāsa-prototype. It may be that the attempt of those who find in it an *actual* reflection of contemporary political events is misdirected, but it would be absurd to deny reality to the dramatic fulness of life which the work displays by presuming it to be a mere literary copy of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*.

I beg to point out the following slips and misprints in the book :—

p. 19 'Satyrize's' should be corrected ; p. 22, l. 29 Some word like 'of' before 'its existence' is wanted by the sense of the passage ; p. 35, f. n. 1, l. 1 Supply 'in' before 'Mbh.' ; p. 50, f. n. 2 is not marked in the text ; p. 52. f. n. 1 Should not TD be ID ? p. 212, sec. 4, l. 4 Read Kānyakubja ; The passage "tradition preserved in the Tagore family" is not clear ; p. 232, f. n. 3 Was the ed. of *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* of 1884 published in Calcutta, or in Benares ? p. 262 This sentence is defective—"The court chaplin (chaplin ?) enters with his pupil, and are (?) attracted to the damsel".

ED.

ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢĀTRIYA TRIBES, vol. I. By Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D. 166 pp. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 12. THACKER, SPINK & CO. 1924.

Dr. Law has laid the students of ancient Indian History under deep obligations by his interesting studies on the Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. The historians of ancient India generally regard the sixth century B.C. as the line of demarcation between historical and pre-historical period, but already signs are not wanting that the line is to be pushed back to a considerable degree. Mr. Pargiter was the first scholar to draw the attention of the learned world in this direction and among the small band of workers who has followed in his footsteps Dr. Law occupies a distinct position. In the volume under review he has collected together data from various sources about the Kurus, the Pañcālas, the Matsyas, the Śūrasenas, the Cedis, the Vatsas (whom the author regards as identical with the Vedic Vasas), the Avantis and the Uśīnaras. For this purpose he has laid under contribution both Brāhmanical and Buddhist literature and his references are fairly exhaustive. The author has also referred to the coins and inscriptions, but it is obvious that he did not intend to treat them fully. He should have been well advised to omit the later history of the Cedis and Pañcālas altogether, for they require more detailed treatment which is incompatible with his plan of the work.

A short paragraph on Kokalladeva and an equally brief treatment of the 'Metra' coins of Pañcāla are apt to mislead the reader. For real value of the book lies in its treatment of the literary data and

the author has done a great service by bringing them together. The time for writing a connected history of the ancient Kṣatriya tribes has not yet come but the groundwork has been well laid and we hope the main structure will be raised upon it at no distant date. We hope Dr. Law will continue his researches in the same direction and help to bridge over the gulf that at present separates the early period of Indian history from what we may call the beginnings of historical period.

R. C. MAJUMDER

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS, vol. II.
By S. K. DE, M.A., D. Litt. 430 pp. Luzac & Co. 1925.

Dr. SUSHIL KUMAR DE has already become well-known in the field of research by the publication of the first volume of his 'History of Sanskrit Poetics'. The second volume maintains the standard of the first by its thoroughness of exposition of the subject. He has indeed done great service to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature by bringing out this volume.

In the first volume, he indicated the original sources of the *Alaṅkāra-śāstrā* and settled the chronology of most of the exponents of this branch of Sanskrit literature. In the present work he has traced the development of Sanskrit Poetics very critically, and given an account of the various systems and theories connected with the Sanskrit rhetorical doctrines. The book is divided into nine chapters, each of which is sub-divided into a number of sections. After giving an outline of Sanskrit poetics as it existed in the earliest known period of its history, the author has dealt with its different systems such as *alaṅkāra*, *rīti*, *rasa* and *dhvani*, and has indicated when possible the way in which they have originated and developed, tracing at the same time the history of the formulation of the theories. Various schools of poetics have been distinguished and their influence upon one another has been determined. With a full mastery over the abstruse technique of the subject, Dr. De has been able to collect every detail relating to the topics like *vyāñjanā*, *lakṣaṇā*, *vṛtti*, *śphoṭa*, etc. and to explain very clearly the terms belonging to dramaturgy and poetics proper. The last chapter is devoted to the writers of *kāvī-śikṣās* or manuals for the guidance of those who wish to compose poems or dramas. The book will be very welcome to the students of Sanskrit literature not only for its clear exposition of the difficult subject but also for the laborious

way in which he has drawn materials from a large number of published works and manuscripts for the treatment of the theme.

D. M. BHATTACHARYYA

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA. By Prof. J. N. Samaddar, B. A., with a Foreword by Dr. A. B. Keith. 141 pp. Patna University.

The author has taken much pains in putting together in the book almost all the information at present available regarding the social, political and religious history of Magadha. The country of Magadha occupied from very early times an important position as an emporium of trade and as a centre of non-brāhmanic religions in India. In the first lecture, the author has given a running account of the great events that took place in Magadha up to the 12th century A. C. and constitute its glories. He has in his second lecture delineated the history of Rājagṛha and Pāṭaliputra, the two capitals of Magadha, and has discussed the claim of Vaiśālī to be counted as its capital. In the last two lectures, he has presented a picture of the two great Buddhist universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā and has fully utilized the information furnished by Tārānāth, the Chinese travellers and the archaeological discoveries. His third and fourth lectures, devoted to the study of Asokan edicts with an estimate of their social, political, and religious importance, contain discussions which though useful should have been given a place elsewhere. His analysis of the causes of the decline of Buddhism does not appear to be sound. However, monographs like this have a value of their own inasmuch as they enable the reader to have all the available information on a subject in a handy form. The typographical errors are too many and there should not have been so many omissions in the use of diacritical marks.

KACCĀYANA

HISTORY OF KERALA, vol. I, by K. P. Padmanabha Menon. 569 pp. Ernakulam, Cochin State.

The book under review was rightly intended, as appears from the author's will quoted in the editor's Foreword, to be published as notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar. Rev. Jacobus Canter Visscher addressed these Letters to his friends at home during 1717-1723, in the form of memoirs, full of observations upon the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdoms and other allied subjects. An annotated edition of these precious memoirs like the one in hand was

badly needed. None can claim to be more competent than the late Mr. Padmanabha Menon to fulfil this immensely useful task. His notes speak eloquently of his wide range of information and study and no less of his power to reduce the varied material into some sort of historical method and coherence. But the result obtained is substantially an annal or a gazetteer rather than a book of history. Even as such, it cannot fail to be attractive to a serious historian of India who can set to work only when publications of this kind have sufficiently helped him to clear up his ground. The notes, as they appear, abound in quotations, and this is to be regretted as the most disappointing feature of an important work. But there is no denying of the fact that these enable the reader to portray to himself various shifting scenes of historical events with a racial, socio-economic and political background which went to make the people of Kerala or Malabar what they became. The corrected bequest from the author stands as a lasting memorial to his fame as a compilation of all invaluable information from traditional and authentic sources.

B. M. BARUA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1923-24

- J. J. MODI.—The social life of the ancient Iranians as preserved by the Avesta. (Description, under the first of three stated headings, of the principal parts of an Iranian house—the domesticated animals, furniture, metals).
- GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ.—The doctrine of *pratibhā* in Indian philosophy. (In continuation of the article in the preceding number, traces the plan of this doctrine in the Āgamas, the Vedānta, the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Buddhism, Jainism, the Itihāsa, the Purāṇa and the prose literature and ends with a resumé and retrospect).
- S. K. BELVALKAR.—Māṭhara Vṛtti. (Defends, with an elaborate array of quotations against Prof. A. B. Keith's criticism, the writer's contention that the Māṭhara-Vṛtti was the original of Paramārtha's Chinese translation).
- R. DISKALKAR.—A new inscription of Aparaditya (V. S. 1176). An incomplete inscription in the Rajkot Museum.

Bulletin of the French School of the Far East (Fr.), 1923

A. Foucher.—The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, vol. II, fasc. 2, Paris 1922. Reviewed by V. Gouloubev. (A most valuable criticism throwing light upon the history of Indian art in the early centuries of the Christian era. *Principal contents.* Abandoning the chronological scheme of his first volume (1905), Foucher now seeks to trace back the epoch of efflorescence of the Gandhāra School to the first century B. C. so as to make it coincide with the Hellenistic (instead of the Graeco-Roman) epoch of Mediterranean art. This would reduce almost to a minimum the influence exercised by the Kuṣānas upon the Gandhāra School and the part played by the Mathurā School in the evolution of the earliest images of Buddha, while tending to establish the closest links with the "Hellenistic epoch of Indian history". The evidence, however, for such a radical transformation of the existing chronology is not sufficient. As to the important question relating to the date and place of creation of the earliest images of Buddha, it has to be observed that the Mathurā school which undoubtedly goes back to the times of early Kuṣānas does not show any trace of Hellenic influence, even by way of suggestion (as Foucher

supposes). One of the images of this school, the figure of Buddha Bodhi sattva at Kātrā, is probably the original of all the images of the Blessed One. In later times the artists of Mathurā borrowed some art elements from the Gandhāra school just as the latter borrowed from the former. The subsequent history of Indian art does not (as Foucher thinks) involve a mechanical copy of Indo-Greek models but is rather a conscious return to the deep-seated ancient ideals. (Summarised by Dr. U. N. Ghosal).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. III, part III

SUSHIL KUMAR DE.—The Ākhyāyika and the Katha in Classical Sanskrit. In this paper Dr. De distinguishes some well-defined stages in the growth of the Ākhyāyika and the Katha in Classical Sanskrit.

L. D. BARNETT.—Abhasa-Bhasa. Dr. Barnett is of opinion that the anonymous Trivandrum plays are *not* by Bhasa and that none of the plays are earlier than the period of Kalidasa i. e., the early fifth century.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—The Māṭhara Vṛtti. Professor Keith finds no evidence proving that the Chinese translation of Paramārtha was derived from the newly discovered commentary on the Saṅkhyā karikā (Māṭhara-vṛtti) as suggested by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. He concludes that the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, Gauḍapada's work, and the translation of Paramārtha all date back to an original commentary which is faithfully preserved in none of them.

Indian Antiquary, January 1925

A. S. RAMANATH AYYAR.—Cheraman-Perumal Nayanar. In this paper Cheraman-Perumal-Nayanār, a Śaiva saint mentioned in the Tamil hagiology, has been identified with king Rājasekhara of Talamana-illam copper-plate, his date being ascribed to the first quarter of the ninth century A. D.

A. M. HOCART.—The Cousin in the Vedic Ritual. It has been suggested here that the word *bhrātṛya* in the Vedic literature should be taken in the sense of *Mother's brother's son*.

ANANT SADASI ALLEKAR.—Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad.

Ibid., March 1925

RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL.—Spurious Ghotia Plates of Prthivideva
II. The inscription purports to record the grant of a village to one

Gopāla Śarma. The Haihaya king Prthivideva II is mentioned as the donor. But in the opinion of the Rai Bahadur it is a forgery committed a hundred years after Prthivideva's time. The date of the grant has been put back by 300 years, a time anterior to the advent of the Haihayas in the place mentioned in the inscription.

Journal Asiatique, July-Sept. 1924

J. PRZYLUŚKI.—The Prologue framework of the Thousand and One Nights and the theme of the Svayaṃvara; a contribution to the history of Indian tales (Fr.). (Complement, from the standpoint of folklore, of a series of studies published by the same author in the Memoirs and Bulletin of the Linguistic Society (Fr.), showing the Austro-Asiatic origin of a portion of the Indo-Aryan vocabulary).

A. FOUCHER.—The Buddhist Antiquities of Haihāk in Afghan Turkestan. (Traces the remains of a Buddhist foundation consisting of a *Stūpa* and a *Saṅghārāma*, the base comprising chapels, a dormitory, a chapter hall serving also as a refectory, and town-halls).

MISCELLANIES.—J. Przyłuski.—Brahmā Sahampati.

OBITUARY.—Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee by Sylvain Lévi.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 44, No. 3, September, 1924

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.—On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—Priestly Penance and Legal Penalty. The writer says that criminal law has developed from two entirely different sources, one that of the king with his *daṇḍa* and *dama* (corporal punishment and fine), the other of the priests, who made their own rules, and prescribed expiations for offences.

LEROY CARR BARRET.—The Kashmirian Atharvaveda, Bk. II.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

vol. XIX, 1923, No. 10

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.—An Essay on the History of Newar Culture. It deals with the social organisation of the Newars.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. X, Part III, 1924

- K. P. JAYASWAL.—Brāhmī Seals Newly Discovered at Patna. Six Seals of which four are of glass, one of stone, and another of clay, have been described. They probably belong to a time between the 3rd and the 2nd century B. C.
- RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH.—The Use of Glass in Ancient India. Against the belief that glass was introduced in India by foreigners it has been proved that glass manufacture was well-known in ancient India from a very early time.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI ŚĀSTRĪ.—Lassen's History of Indian Commerce (transl.)
- VINAYATOSA BHATTACHARYYA and G. K. SHRIGON DEKAR.—Sanskrit Works on Elephants. Interesting details about elephants collected from Palakāpya's *Hastyāyurveda*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, and works like *Gajanirūpaṇa*, *Mātṛigalila*, and *Gajavikitsā*.
5. KALIPADA MITRA.—Nibhānam. Expositions of the term as found in various Pāli passages have been collected in this paper. The author does not favour any particular view saying that as Buddha left it *avyakta*, no attempt to lift the veil should be made.

Journal of Indian History, September, 1925

- JARL CHARPENTIER.—Supplementary notices on the discovery of the Vedas (in Europe).
- J. HOLLAND ROSE.—The influence of sea-power on Indian history of the period from the capture of Madras by the French to the Peace of Amiens, to show that sea-power exercised the decisive influence in the struggle for supremacy.
- R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.—The Kanungo. Some aspects of his office in Bengal during the early days of the Company. (Shows how the Kanungos succeeded in keeping as a hereditary corporation the monopoly of information about revenue matters as late as 1787).
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- HARIHAR DAS.—The embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib.

CORRESPONDENCE.—By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in defence of his 'Some contributions of South India to Indian culture' against Dr. Barnett's criticism.

Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1920-23

DR. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.—"What has Buddhism derived from Christianity" written on 22. 2. 1877. The writer points out in this article that Buddhism and Christianity developed on entirely parallel lines though one was independent of the other, and suggests a few reasons for such resemblances. He classifies and details the resemblances between the two religions under the following three heads—(1) Those between the Gospels and the Buddhist accounts of the life of Gotama, (2) those between the Christian and the Buddhist monastic systems and public worship, and (3) those between the Christian and the Buddhist moral teachings.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1925

R. D. BANERJI.—Nahāpana and the Saka era. By comparing the Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradāman with the Nāsik inscriptions of the time of Nahāpana the writer has shown that Nahāpana and Rudradāman could not have lived in the same century.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA SĀSTRĪ—Analysis of 'Meaning' in Indian Philosophy of Language.

Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. XI.

M. LOUIS FINOT.—The Legend of Buddhaghosa.

KOKILESHWAR SHASTRI.—Place of Ethics and Religion in the Śaṅkara System.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.—The Viṣṇudharmottaram.

R. KIMURA.—An Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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SUPPLEMENT TO 'MISCELLANY'

KON-PON-BOKYO.—A modern Japanese publication of original researches on early Buddhism by Dr. S. Nagai, Pali Lecturer, Tokyo Imperial University. The most important chapter is one giving a complete analysis of the contents of a Chinese translation of the *Visuddhimagga*, recently discovered by the author. It is no less startling and useful than Prof. Takakusu's notice of the Chinese version of the *Vinaya Commentary Samanta-Pāsādikā*. Barring the excess of detail here and there, the Chinese translation shows a perfect agreement with Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*. Its original is said to have been brought over to China from Ceylon, and translated into Chinese in 550 A. D. by Thera Saṅghapāla, who was a native of South India and a celebrity of Ceylon. Curiously enough, the translation ascribes the authorship of its original to one Upatissa or Upatīsyā. Who this Upatīsyā was, and when and where he lived are matters on which we have no information. Dr. Nagai inclines to hold that the original of the Chinese translation was written by some Singhalese Buddhist teacher named Upatīsyā, nay, to identify him with Upatissa, a distinguished *Vinaya* scholar in Ceylon referred to by Buddhaghosa in his *Samanta-Pāsādikā*. Is this sufficient to establish the identity of the two Upatīsyās? Reliance upon a tradition in Chinese statements in a case like this, unless critically tested, is apt to mislead. Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* and Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* contain poetic and prose treatment of the same traditional material: of Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa are represented in all Buddhist traditions as contemporaries. The former wrote his expositions and commentaries in Kāveripattana and the latter in Anurādhapura. Both in their own works refer to Mahāthera Saṅghapāla in most respectful terms. At his instance Buddhadatta wrote his *Uttara-Vinicchaya* in South India. With suggestions from him Buddhaghosa wrote his *Visuddhimagga* in Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* describes him as the highly revered Buddhist teacher who was in charge of the central hall of the Mahāvihāra monastery. All this goes to show that Saṅghapāla, a common teacher of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa lived both in South India and Ceylon, a description befitting Saṅghapāla

the translator in Chinese. Is it not strange that such Saṅghapāla should be mentioned as a translator? The Chinese date, 550 A. D., being evidently later than Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, cannot but argue the possibility of the translation being made from Buddhaghosa's monumental encyclopedia. According to Buddhaghosa's own admission, his work was based upon the Mahāvihāra expositions of the Pāli Tripiṭaka. Buddhaddatta's Abhidhammāvatara points to this common source. But there is no evidence to prove that anyone save and before Buddhaghosa wrote any work using Visuddhimagga as its title. The excess of details in the Chinese rendering can at most prove that there were more recensions than one of Buddhaghosa's writing. The Siamese edition of the Attbasālini, for instance, differs in details from the Ceylonese. The ascription of authorship to Upatissa or Upatissa, may be due to quite another reason. In Upatissa's or Sāriputta's questionnaire embodied in the Rathavināsa-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya, probably recommended as Upatissa-Pasine in Aśoka's Bhabra edict, one can trace the first plan and rough outline of the Visuddhimagga, suggesting even some of its chapter-headings. The expressions *Sīlavissuddhi*, *Cīttavissuddhi*, *Dīrghicivissuddhi*, and the rest, cover the contents of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, as well as of Buddhaddatta's Abhidhammāvatara, i. e., of two works written with common materials under two different titles. Is it at all surprising that authorship should be attributed to Upatissa-Sāriputta, just in the same way as a much later work, the Anagatavamsa, is ascribed to (Kumāra) Kassapa, an immediate disciple of Buddha, not meaning that he was precisely the author of the particular work as we now have it, but that its first plan and possibility were conceived by him. We must anxiously await a fuller discussion of the value of Dr. Nagai's discovery from our learned colleague Mr. R. Kimura of the Calcutta University, who has just received a copy of the book and is carefully going through it.

B. M. Barua.

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No. 2

Northern Buddhism

II

Before I give a connected history of Northern Buddhism it is necessary to speak something about the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal on which that is to be based. The mss. brought by Hodgson were thus distributed: "85 bundles comprising 144 separate works were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London; 30 to the India Office Library; 7 to the Bodleian Library, Oxford; 174 to the Société Asiatique and M. Burnouf. The last two collections have since been deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France".

Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra says that Hodgson was not only the discoverer of these most ancient and authentic records, but also the first intelligent exponent of their nature and value both in their ritualistic and in their philosophical aspects, "and his notices served more to excite than to allay curiosity in regard to them". Very few of them, almost a negligible quantity, are non-Buddhist. Prof. Bendall's Catalogue of the Wright collection in Cambridge contains about 172 separate works. My collection in the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains 125 separate Buddhist works. In all, there would be about 700 mss. There are about 250 Buddhist works available to

work upon, making allowance for all duplicates, triplicates and multiplicates of works and fragments.

The most important and earliest of them is the *Mahāvastu aravāṇa*, the Vinaya or disciplinary work of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the schismatics of the second Buddhist council in the second century of the Nirvāṇa era or in the fourth century B. C. This is the only work of the Mahāsaṅghikas that has come down to us or has yet been discovered. Its importance cannot therefore be over-rated. M. Senart has published an edition of the work with notes in French. The amazing piece of information given at the outset is that the Mahāsaṅghikas were all Lokottaraviāhins that, is they considered Buddha to be supermundane. Reading through the book, I find that every thing in the life of Buddha is supermundane. His descent from heaven, his entrance into the womb of Māyā, his birth from her right side, his seven steps at birth, his movements, his eating, lying, sitting were all supermundane. He received no education, yet when challenged, he wrestled, he threw arrows, he fought, he jumped, with supermundane power and throughout the book the author or the compiler has maintained the supermundane character of Buddha. The opponents consider Buddha as a gifted human being but the schismatic thought he was not earthly.

Every one who reads the Pāli works knows that the schism arose from a difference on ten points, all minor points of discipline, and he wonders how such trivial things can produce such an abiding separation. The supermundane character given to Buddha by the schismatics invests the separation with greater importance. The difference of opinion was radical and far-reaching as the subsequent developments will show. Later on Buddha loses his human character altogether and becomes *Upāya*, means of salvation, and later still, there arise many hypothetical Buddhas or Dhyāni Buddhas identified with the universe both in its physical and spiritual aspects. The southern Buddhists are concerned with

Śākyamuni, the Sarvārthasiddha, the son of Śuddhodana and Māyā, belonging to the solar race and to the Gotama gotra ; but the Northern Buddhists speak of him as Sarvajñ, omniscient. The lexicographer Amarasimha in the fifth century A. D. speaks of two Buddhas, one Supreme Intelligence, and the other a human being. The Supreme Intelligence is placed first and has more names than the other. In the supplement to the *Amarakoṣa* written in the latest period of Buddhism in India, the supermundane Buddha has many more names than the human Buddha.

This is one aspect of N. Buddhism ; the other aspects are also patent at the first reading of the *Mahāvastu*, which speaks of hundreds of Buddhas previous to this Buddha. The S. Buddhism knows only three, then eight, and last of all, 24, not to be behind the Jainas who have 24 Tīrthāṅkaras including Mahāvira, a contemporary of Śākyamuni. The S. Buddhism has 550 Jātaka stories. But the Northern has only a few and those few gradually dwindled into nothing. The Jātakas were substituted by Avadānas or glorious achievements not only of Buddha but of all great personages of the Buddhist faith. The Northern seems to have an aversion to the Jātakas.

In the matter of doctrine, too, there was a great difference between the two sections. The highest aim of the Southern was arahatship to be free from the bondage of birth, death and old age. The arahats cannot save others. They, however, can save themselves. It is Buddha only who can save others. The arahats can, however, prepare others for salvation but the latter will have to wait till a Buddha appears in the world after an uncertain and indefinitely long period. But the *Mahāvastu* preaches that any one who has attained salvation can save others "tīrṇo tarayeyam, mukto mocayeyam". The ideas of time and space of the N. and S. Buddhists are very different. The Southern is more circumscribed while the Northern attempts to grasp infinity as far as human limitation will allow. The S. deals with the life of Śākyamuni only, but the N. with many of the past Buddhas who foretold that

Śākyamuni would attain Buddhahood at Kapilavāstu and in one place the N. have gone so far as to speak of hundreds of Śākyamunis of Kapilavāstu. No emphasis is laid on the Śikṣā-padas or disciplinary vows in the N. but these are not altogether suppressed as in later times. But the S. is full of these vows even now. So the difference was not on 10 minor points of discipline but on fundamental conceptions and what are these ten points? To us they appear to be absolutely trivial. Some monks wanted to store a bit of salt in a horn and objection was taken to such storage. The monks were allowed to take only liquids in the afternoon. Some people wanted to mix water with curd and drink it before churning. That was objected to and so on to the number of ten. This appears to be more trivial when it is considered that Buddha on his deathbed advised monks to attach smaller importance to minor points of discipline after his death.

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī and their relations the Vajjis were a spirited race who had recently given up their nomadic habits and were impatient of control. They wanted to widen the outlook of Buddhism and they succeeded.

When I am speaking of the earliest work of the schism, the *Mahāvastu*, I cannot leave it without saying a word about its chronology and its language. The prevailing opinion is that it is written in a mixed language into which Sanskrit and Prākṛt idioms equally enter and that it is an artificial language. But I think this was the spoken language of N. India which purged by the rules of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali became the standard language of the brāhmanas of N. India. The *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* distinctly says that when that work was written about the second century B. C., there were in India seven languages, and that each had two forms the Saṃskṛta and the Prākṛta, i.e., pure or grammatical and the ordinary, and the seven languages were all geographical. The *Mahāvastu* is written in the ungrammatical form of the language prevailing in Kōśala and Vajji countries. It is neither an artificial language nor Vernacularized Sanskrit nor Sanskrit-

ised Vernacular. The work is written in prose but every prose piece is supported by a versified piece which looks like the authority on which the prose narration is based. There is a slight variation in their language, as there must be, between prose and verse. The prose is homely and the verse is a little dignified. There are other books also written in this language. The *Lalitavistara*, I suppose, was at one time written entirely in this language but at present the prose has become Sanskrit of a sort and the poetry has retained the old language. The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, as we have it, is written in the style of prose in Sanskrit and poetry in this identical language. But the palm-leaves that have been dug out from the Taklamakan desert contain an old version of the work in which both the prose and the verse are in this language. There is another work of which I have recently got a copy which is all in verse in this language but which appears to be more modern. The short dedicatory inscriptions in Sāñci, Barhāt, Mathura and other places are also in this language. It seems to have been the prevailing language of the N. Buddhists in the centuries following the schism.

So far for the language of the *Mahāvastu*; and the time for its composition or compilation is, I think, the second and third centuries of the Nirvāṇa era, namely, the third and second centuries B. C. Some scholars think that it was composed or compiled in the 3rd century A. D. because it contains the word *Yogācāra* and the *Yogācāra* sect was founded in that century. The word *Yogācāra* in the *Mahāvastu* is not used in the sense of a sect; there it has the ordinary meaning of *Yoga* and *ācāra* and it is not in the nature of things that the vigorous sect which defied the majority of the elders should wait six centuries to write their sacred books. I think the work was written or the works were compiled in the course of the very first or second century of its existence. There would be no meaning in their composition or compilation six hundred years after, when it is well-

known again that the Mahāsaṅghikas within one, or one and half a century was split up into six different sects.

So the *Mahāvastu* is a great discovery as the earliest work of N. Buddhism and as being written in the vernacular of the time when Sanskrit grammarians were trying to purify the language by strict rules, Pāṇini in the late fifth, Kātyāyana in the fourth, Vyāḍi in the third and Patañjali in the second century B. C.

The third century of the Nirvāṇa era and the early part of the fourth were the most flourishing time of Buddhism. Aśoka encouraged Buddhism and some of his successors did the same. Big monasteries were founded, the places of pilgrimage visited, grants were made to Buddhist congregations, missions were sent to surrounding countries and assemblies held to fix the canons. But all that was good for S. Buddhism of one sect only. The strict rules framed for schismatics does not speak of great favour being shown to the people of N. Buddhism. But one thing is sure : Aśoka was not in favour of persecution except when his Imperialist policy required that class privileges should be cut down.

A book, non canonical, of course, was written by the President of the Aśoka Council held in the 17th year of his reign, detailing the points in controversy among the Buddhists from the point of view of the most favoured sect, namely, the Vibhajjavādins, an offshoot of the Theravādins. That book enunciates 20 different sects among the Buddhists, 12 among the Theravādins, 6 among the Mahāsaṅghikas and two local. But it is a well-known fact that in the council of the 17th year of Aśoka the N. Buddhists were not invited and they consequently took no part and ignored its existence. But their opinions were controverted by the President Tissa Moggaliputta in their absence in the now famous work, the *Kathāvatthū* or the points of controversy. So between the Vaiśālī split and the Aśoka council there were further and further splits among the Buddhists.

In the middle of the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era

disaster fell on all Buddhists. Aśoka prohibited the killing of animals for sacrificial purposes all over his empire, took away the cherished privileges of brāhmaṇas to suit his Imperial policy, appointed the best men in his services irrespective of caste, colour and creed. This gave offence to the brāhmaṇas, and they in the middle of the fourth century of the Nirvāṇa era destroyed the Maurya Empire and raised a Sāmavedi brāhmaṇa of the Śuṅga gotra to the throne of Magadha. The Sāmavedins were the priests of the Soma sacrifice in which many animals were killed and these were incensed at the prohibition of killing animals and they now took their vengeance by performing a Horse sacrifice in the very capital, perhaps in the very palace of Aśoka from which the edict of prohibition was promulgated. This was not all. Puṣyamitra the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty was a great persecutor of the Buddhists, he massacred the monks, destroyed their viḥāras, and banished the turbulent spirits. The Buddhists fled to all parts of India, the Theravādins towards the South and the N. Buddhists towards the N. West. The brāhmaṇas remained dominant in eastern and central India for three centuries and consolidated their power within the empire. They codified their law, they gave the last finish to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahabhārata* and to their linguistic survey and organised the caste-system and the modern system of Hindu worship. But beyond the empire their influence was on the wane, and their empire dwindled and dwindled till the whole fabric fell before the invading hordes from the North, West, and South. Beyond the brāhmaṇa empire the Buddhists had peace and shelter but after nearly two centuries of disorganisation. They, however, kept up the form of a spiritual government. Saṅghatheras were appointed in regular succession and the show of a government was kept up. The *Milinda Pañho* a dialogue between king Menander and Nagasena shows that beyond the brāhmaṇa empire among the foreign invaders the Buddhists enjoyed more respect than in their home provinces.

Now to what sect did Nāgasena belong? The book as now extant is in Pāli and found in the South. But the editor tells us that the work had a Sanskrit original and that it most probably belonged to N. Buddhism.

The Śātakarnis were brāhmaṇas and the Śaka kings Nāhāvāna and his son-in-law Usavadāta were pro-brāhmaṇas. But they, to a certain extent, encouraged the Buddhists also. There are inscriptions in which they granted lands and privileges to Buddhists also. The dedication of stūpas and sculptures of the Buddhists and Jains continued through their sway. But we hear very little of the Buddhists in Magadha and Central India. In the sixth century of the Nirvāṇa era, however, the Northern Buddhists made a great headway in the Punjab. The coins and inscriptions of the Parthians, Greeks, Yuechi and Kuṣānas show traces of Buddhism in them and they seem to have converted the Kuṣāna emperor, Kaniska to their faith. His conversion was a great triumph to the Buddhists. For he was the supreme ruler of all the countries from Vindhya to the Altai mountains and during his reign they had access to Central Asia where they planted their faith and remained dominant for several centuries, carrying Indian civilization to the Tokharas and Turks. In Central Asia they first made their acquaintance with the Chinese and gradually converted nearly the whole of the Celestial Empire to their faith. But that is another story.

But before giving an account of Buddhism in Kaniska's time it is necessary to speak of Buddhism or Buddhist works supposed to have been written before his time. These are *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Śrīghoṣa sūtra*. Of these the *Laṅkāvatāra* is well-known. Buddha Śākyamuni preached to Rāvaṇa at Laṅkā. He solved the doubts of his hearers on such questions as from what principle of human nature ratiocination had its origin? How can agreements be made pure? How to detect fallacies? What are fallacies? Where did the emancipated go? How can one in bondage be

emancipated ? What is Nirvāṇa ? How do Arāhats and Tathāgatas hold to meditation of Bodhisattvas ? Whether the Tathāgata is eternal and so on. The questions are on Logic and Philosophy. I take them from Rajendra Lal's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*. The late lamented Harinath De published a pamphlet in which 20 different systems of thought were culled out from the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The Nepalese call it a Mahayana Sūtra but Suzuki in his notes on the *Awakening of Faith* characterises it as pre-Mahāyāna or at least pre-Nāgārjuna. So is Gaṇḍavyūha. It is called Ghanavyūha in Chinese which the Nepalese call Mahāyāna but Suzuki pre-Nāgārjuna. It has been described by Raja R. L. Mitra.

Yuan Chwang tells us that Kaniṣka held a Council in Kāśmīra in which all the N. Buddhists were invited. The S. Buddhists were *nonest* there. There were five hundred monks, they settled the canon of N. Buddhism and made a commentary entitled *Vibhāṣa* which they inscribed in copper plates and kept the inscriptions under a huge stupa close to the place of the Assembly. I am disposed to think that the Vaibhāṣika sect took their cue from the Vibhāṣa. But no information on this subject have come from Indian sources. All information is buried in Chinese translations. So it seems that there is no information about the Council held during the reign of emperor Kaniṣka except what is given by Yuan Chwang. But we know from Chinese sources that Kaniṣka had three eminent Indians at his Court, one is Mātbara, the well-known commentator of Śāṅkhyā Kārikās, one Caraka, the redactor of an ancient medical work by Atri and Agniveśa and the other was Aśvaghoṣa, Kaniṣka's spiritual Guru. He was born at Sāketa in Oudh, his mother's name was Suyar-nākṣī. He was a *blatanta*, he was a philosopher, a poet, a musician and a great preacher. His voice was so loud that he was called Aśvaghoṣa (or neighing like a horse). Suzuki calls him a Mahāyānist and has translated his philosophical work, Māhāyāna Śraddhotpāda Sūtra, or awakening of faith in Mahāyāna. But Mahāyāna was not yet. It came two

generations after Aśvaghoṣa. The *Awakening* is a wonderful work. Its original has not been yet found. Suzuki translated the Chinese translation, which treats of all the great problems of Mahāyāna. But there is nothing of Mahāyāna in Aśvaghoṣa's great epics. The Buddhacarita has been edited from very inferior materials by the late E. B. Cowell who was for some years the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Better materials are now available as I have shown in one of my papers in the *JASB*. But Cowell had done another thing. The Sanskrit Buddhacarita is only half the work, the other half is yet unavailable. But Cowell has translated the Chinese translation of Buddhacarita also which is complete in 28 cantos. His other epic the Saundarānanda was discovered by me and has been edited by me from old and good materials. Both are epics of great merit written in Classical Sanskrit in which the majority of Buddhist works are written. The Buddhacarita deals with the epic life of Buddha and the Saundarānanda with that of his step-brother Nanda. The doctrines are those of N. Buddhism and not yet of Mahāyāna. Buddha speaks to Nanda "You have done your duty, you are emancipated, now go and preach and save others", exactly what the Mahāvastu speaks of. It is not S. Buddhism for no emphasis is laid on discipline and the regulation of conduct. The poetry of both these works is of a very high order. The characters are distinct and very well drawn. The images, the descriptions and the similes are all that can be desired. Subsequent Sanskrit poets even Kālidāsa is indebted to Aśvaghoṣa for many of his most admired similes. But I need not expatiate on them here as I have done so in the preface to my edition of the Saundarānanda.

It is said that emperor Kaniska invested Pataliputra. The king was not prepared to defend his capital and sued for peace but Kaniska demanded nine crores of rupees which the king had not. It was afterwards settled that the king should send Aśvaghoṣa to Kaniska and the Emperor would value him at three crores of rupees. Buddha's alms-bowl was valued at three crores of rupees and some other relic at the same

price. From this it will be seen how greatly Aśvaghoṣa was appreciated by his contemporaries. Aśvaghoṣa seems to have been originally a brāhmaṇa. His knowledge of the Vedas and the brāhmaṇic law is deep and profound. He distinctly lays down that Buddha's religion was an outcome of the Sāṃkhya doctrines of Kapila. Sāṃkhya's aim was to become Kevala or absolute but Buddha saw that no entity can be absolute and unconditioned, and he so modified Kapila's doctrine as to destroy the entity of the soul. But I have spoken of Aśvaghoṣa and Kaṇiṣka at greater length than I proposed. I must now proceed to more important developments of Northern Buddhism.

The geographical distribution of N. and S. Buddhism was not carefully kept. There were S. Buddhist in the North and N. Buddhist in the South. The *Laṅkāvatāra* is an instance to the point. The scene was placed at Laṅkā to make it very prominent. Rāvaṇa is made one of the interlocutors. Yet the work belongs to Northern Buddhism. The scenes in the *Gaṇḍarvyaḥita* are laid in the South but it is Northern Buddhism. The Nepalese call it even Mahāyāna. But two of the greatest figures in N. Buddhism came from the South. These are Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. One is the father of Mahāyāna and the other his disciple. Nāgārjuna is said to have been the friend of one of the Śātikarnis, and Āryadeva hails from Kāñci. Nāgārjuna preached the Śūnyavāda which was the essence of the Mahāyāna School.

Nāgārjuna is regarded at least as the St. Paul if not as the Christ of Mahāyāna. He is said to have drawn out from the nether world a new Buddhist scripture in Sanskrit called the *Prajñāpāramitā*. There is a misapprehension among the learned men as regards *Prajñāpāramitā*. There are several recensions of this work from *Svalpākṣarā* or in a few words to one of 150 ślokas, one of 700 ślokas, one of 1500 ślokas, one of 8000 ślokas, one of 10000 ślokas, one of 25000 ślokas, one of 100,000 ślokas and some say one of 125,000 ślokas. Some think that the original work was of 100000 ślokas and the rest are

abridgements. But my information is otherwise. The earliest recension is that of 10000 ślokas as I learn from the Chinese sources. But it is very nearly identical with the 8000 divided into 32 parivarttas. Shortly after the time of Nāgārjuna one Maitreyanātha wrote a work in mnemonic verses called *Kārikās* in Sanskrit divided in eight chapters entitled *Abhisamayālaṅkara Kārikās* which laid the foundation of the Yogācāra School and the *Prajñāpāramitā* of the 8000 ślokas was modified and enlarged according to these *Kārikās* into a recension of 25000 divided into eight chapters according to the *Kārikās*. The *Śatasāhasrikā* is still later. In Chinese the 25000 was translated first of all, then the 8000 and then the 10000 which was translated by Yuan Chwang on his return from India. The 125000 appears to be a myth but not so the 1500. Of the seven hundred I have seen two copies one in the Mss. Library of the Mahārājā of Benares where it is classed under *Kāvya*s and the other I collected for the A. S. B. Of the *Svalpākṣarā* I have seen three copies which between the usual prologue and the epilogue in *Prajñāpāramitā* works contains one sentence to the effect that *śūnyatā* is the essential feature of Buddhism. At the end of all these copies it is stated that Nāgārjuna recovered the *Prajñāpāramitā* from the nether regions. Rāja R. Mitra has published the *Prajñāpāramitā* of 8000 ślokas in the Bibl. Ind. series and the study of the work shows that it is rank *Śūnya-vāda*. *Prajñāpāramitā* means knowledge par excellence. What is that ? Omniscience. What is omniscience ? The knowledge that all the phenomenal existence is *Śūnya* or void. Examine any phenomenon, it has no substratum. Go on examining all the phenomena. They are all without a substratum. The subjective phenomena too have no substratum, neither matter has any substratum nor has mind. The soul has no substratum. Everything resolves into *Śūnya*. What is *Śūnya* ? Is it existence ? No. Is it non-existence ? No. Is it a combination of the two ? No. Is it a negation of the two ? No. What is it then ? It is that to which neither existence nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the

two can be predicated. What is it then ? It is Anirvācya that which cannot be explained, that which cannot be spoken of. That which cannot be comprehended. That which cannot be imagined. You may call it Transcendental that which transcends our senses, that which transcends our faculties. It is not what the Śrāvakas or the S. Buddhist aims at. It is beyond these narrow-minded members of the Monastic order. It is beyond the narrow-minded order of Priars. Who are its votaries then ? The Bodhisattvas, those who after their exertions during innumerable births and strenuous effort have resolved upon attaining the knowledge *par excellence*. They are only waiting that some Buddha may appear in the world and prophesy that they should in some future kalpa become omniscient and resolved upon emancipating all the sentient beings. In their zeal for omniscience they developed a sense of mercy, a sense of sympathy, a sense of all embracing karuṇā for all sentient beings that they can wait for eternity or any long period of time and suffer any amount of privation, undergo any amount of suffering, undergo any number of births and deaths, in order to save all sentient beings from the bondage of births and deaths, they are prepared to suffer for any length of time.

This is in short the teaching of Nāgārjuna both in the Prajñāpāramitā and in his Mādhyamika Kārikās. The Kārikās are written in terse and vigorous philosophical language but the Prajñāpāramitās are written in the form of harangues addressed to ordinary people, and as all harangues are full of repetitions, Rajendra Lal complains that all Buddhist Sanskrit works are written in a verbose style. Yes, they must be. The author is addressing illiterate people on very abstruse subjects much beyond the comprehension even of the learned.

(To be continued)

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

Some Observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire

II

It is a well-known fact that Puṣyamitra did not inherit the Maurya empire in its entirety.

The Andhras had declared independence in the Deccan and a passage in *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act I, passage 36—S. P. Pandit's edition) seems to indicate Narmadā as the southern boundary of the Śuṅga kingdom. The passage is, however, not without difficulty. All the manuscripts, except one, give the name of the river as Mandākinī, and only a Telugu manuscript from Bangalore has the reading 'Nammalā-kule'¹. This last manuscript, however, is said to be 'a very correct one' and 'almost free from error' (Introduction to *Ibid.*, p. iii). We know of no Mandākinī river² situated sufficiently near the road from Vidiśā to Vidarbha, as would suit the context, and hence it is probable that the reading 'Narmadā' is the correct one. Sankar Pandurang Pandit refers to 'a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river-name, as Gaṅgā &c.'. This would account for the 'Narmadā' being called 'the Mandākinī' 'the river of the heaven'.

In *Mālavikāgnimitra* Vidarbha or Berar is spoken of as an independent kingdom. This also indicates the Narmadā to be the southern boundary of the Śuṅgas. The author of *Mālavikāgnimitra* seems to have an intimate knowledge of

1 Mr. V. Smith says "one of the Bombay manuscripts reads the Prākṛt equivalent of Narmadā". Probably it is a mistake; if not, it corroborates the Telugu Ms.

2 There is an actual river of this name flowing, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, from the Rkṣa Mountain (See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 184, No. 70).

the Śuṅgas (cf. the letter from Puṣyamitra to Agnimitra, in Act V) and hence his statements may be accepted as historical.

In the south-east Kalinga had probably become already independent, and the Śuṅga supremacy stopped at its boundary.

In Northern India, the power of Puṣyamitra seems at one time to have extended to the Indus. This follows from a passage in *Mālavikāgnimitra* (canto V, passage 121) where Puṣyamitra informs his son, that the sacrificial horse he let loose was captured by the Yavanas, while wandering on the south side of the Sindhu (*Sindhordakṣīnarodhasi*), and then there was great fight.

Wilson took the "Sindhu" to mean the celebrated river Indus, and it must be admitted that that is the view which naturally suggests itself to one's mind. Demetrios led the Bactrian Greeks towards the Indus about 190 B. C., and his example was followed by others. Hence it is extremely probable that the Greek and the Indian army should come into conflict on the bank of the Indus. Cunningham, however, took a different view¹, and identified the Sindhu of *Mālavikāgnimitra* with the river of the same name that flows from the Yamunā through Sindhiā's territory. As his opinion has been accepted by many scholars, including Mr. V. A. Smith², the grounds on which it is based require careful examination. I quote his own words:—
 "But as Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra are called the rulers of Vidiṣā, which is described as lying to the north of the Vindhya mountains, and as bounded by the kingdom of Vidarbha or Berar on the South, the Sindhu of the drama cannot possibly be the Indus. The great Indus also flows from north to south, and has no *south bank*, on which the skirmish with the Yavana cavalry, as described

¹ *Num. Chronicle*, 1870, pp. 226-27.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., pp. 200-1

by Puṣyamitra could have taken place, ... the only one which has a south bank is the famous Sindhu of Narwar”.

Thus the argument really consists of two parts :—

(1) Puṣyamitra was the ruler of Vidiśā and his forces therefore cannot be expected so far north as the Punjab.

(2) The Indus has no south bank.

As regards the first, Cunningham was certainly in error when he said ‘that Puṣyamitra was called the ruler of Vidiśā’ for Puṣyamitra has never been called the king of Vidiśā in *Mālavikāgnimitra*. It is now admitted on all hands, that Puṣyamitra ruled at Pataliputra, and Vidiśā was one of the outlying provinces of the Empire. It is again well-known that he succeeded the Mauryas whose empire at one time certainly extended to the Indus and beyond, and there is therefore no inherent improbability in the assumption that the arms of Puṣyamitra reached the Indus. Again it is to be remembered that the movement of the sacrificial horse was not to be confined within the limits of one’s own kingdom, but it was sent as a challenge to neighbouring kings.

The other contention of Cunningham, viz., that the Indus has no south bank may be disposed of easily. The Sindhu of Narwar also flows from north to south, but it takes a bend near Narwar, for some distance, in the direction of east to west, thus creating a south bank. A similar bend might have existed in the course of the Indus twenty one hundred years ago, for it is a well-known fact that the river courses have greatly changed during this long interval. V. Smith says that ‘the courses of the rivers (Indus and its tributaries) have ranged, as the old channels indicate, over a space, a hundred and ten miles wide in the region of the final confluence’¹. It is to be remembered also that the word ‘Dakṣiṇa’ means ‘south’ as well as ‘right’ (as opposed to left). The passage might therefore also refer to the right

bank of the Indus, and no question of a south bank therefore arises.

But while Cunningham's arguments against taking the normal interpretation of the 'Sindhu river' mentioned in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, do not carry much weight, there is one consideration which seems to be decisive. It is related in *Mālavikāgnimitra* that the news of young Vasumitra's sanguinary fights with the Greeks on the banks of the Sindhu were first reported to the court of Vidiśā by Puśyamitra in a letter which he addressed to his son from the city of Pataliputra. That the court of Vidiśā was till then absolutely ignorant of the whole thing follows clearly from the breathless anxiety with which Vasumitra's mother was listening to the letter in order to learn the fate of her son. Now, if the river Sindhu on the bank of which the battle took place was meant for the Sindhu of Narwar, which must have been within a few miles of the kingdom of Vidiśā, if not actually included in it, is it conceivable that Agnimitra would have remained ignorant of it, till the news reached Pataliputra and thence to Vidiśā. On the other hand as there was a royal road from Pataliputra to the Panjab we can easily understand how the royal couriers would take the news from the Indus to Pataliputra before the outlying provinces in Central India could know anything of it. It appears to me, therefore, certain, that by the river Sindhu Kālidāsa certainly meant the famous river of the Panjab. He was too ingenious a dramatist to overlook the incongruity of the dramatic situation which he tried to evolve, if the mother of Vasumitra, naturally so anxious for her son's fate, would not have cared to know of the battle in which he was engaged a few miles off her frontier, and patiently waited for a report from Pataliputra.

From general considerations also, the interpretation of Wilson seems more reasonable. In the first place, we are told that there was a conflict between the Greeks and the Indians, on the bank of the Sindhu. Now this is easily intelligible, if we mean by the Sindhu, the celebrated river

Indus, which from its proximity to the Greek kingdom might have had on its bank a settlement of the Greeks. The same thing cannot be predicted, with any amount of certainty, of the Sindhu of Narwar. Mr. V. Smith indeed says that "these disputants may have been part of the division of Menander's army which had undertaken the siege of Madhyamikā in Rajputana"¹. But the date of Menander is not as certainly fixed as Mr. V. Smith took it to be, and even if we accept that his invasion took place during Puṣyamitra's reign, and that a division of his army both besieged Madhyamikā and opposed the Śunga army on the bank of the Sindhu of Narwar, it is difficult to understand how Puṣyamitra could have undertaken the Rājasūya sacrifice for proclaiming a formal claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India 'at a time when the viciously valiant Greeks' reached the very heart of Northern India, in course of their conquering expedition.

This brings us to another consideration in favour of Wilson's interpretation which possesses no inconsiderable weight. Puṣyamitra celebrated the sacrifice in order to lay claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India. The conquest of the whole of Northern India up to the Indus is certainly required to justify such an ambitious claim. On the other hand such a claim must have been considered pretentious, nay almost ridiculous, if his power extended no further than the Sindhu of Narwar. For whatever might have been the case with more degenerate times when a provincial Lord assumed the title and dignity of a mighty Emperor, Puṣyamitra lived in a generation which had witnessed an empire almost as wide as India itself. It is inconceivable that to the people accustomed to the dignity of the Maurya empire, Puṣyamitra could have the impudence to stand forth as the paramount emperor of Northern India, when the dominions traversed by

1 *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 201.

the sacrificial horse extended no further than the Sindhu of Narwar.

Finally we must mention a Buddhist tradition recorded in Tārānāth that Pušyamitra burnt a number of monasteries *from Madhyadeśa as far as Jalandhara*¹. This also indicates a belief that the empire of Pušyamitra, at one time, extended up to Jalandhara.

These considerations may not be decisive but are certainly too weighty to justify Mr. V. Smith's curt and uncourteous remark viz. "Wilson's belief that the arms of Pušyamitra reached the Indus was due to a misunderstanding". In any case, I believe a fair-minded critic must admit that the balance of probability inclines in favour of Wilson's arguments, and the presumption that the Sindhu is the celebrated Indus, is more reasonable than that it denotes the river of the same name that separates Rajputana from Bundelkhand.

We may therefore accept, in the absence of other proofs to the contrary, that Pušyamitra's conquest extended to the Indus. It is one thing, however, to conquer a country while it is altogether a different thing to permanently administer it.

(To be continued)

R. C. MAZUMDAR

ed. 1892

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¹ "von Madhayadesa bis D-chalundhara" Schietner, p. 81 quoted in V. Smith's *Early History*, p. 205.

The Story Of Nurse Pānnā—Is It Historically True ?

The story of Nurse Pānnā as given in the pages of Tod has immortalised her name. She is depicted in the brightest colour possible. Her unparalleled devotion to duty, her loyalty to the family she served and her self-sacrifice manifested throughout the story with which her name is connected and which is so glowingly described in the Rājasthān have served to make her an example to the whole of India.

It is the object of the present article to examine the story in the light of knowledge derived from a first hand study of the authorities some of which were not accessible to Tod when he wrote his famous book. Besides other authorities, help will also be obtained from a Rājasthāni manuscript compiled about the middle of the seventeenth century. The compiler of this manuscript was Mūtā Nensi, who was for some time minister of Mahārājā Yaśovanta Siṃha of Jodhpur and the work is thus popularly known as the Khyāta or Chronicle of Mūtā Nensi. The references in the following pages are to a text in my possession.

The story as narrated by Tod is thus briefly told. Udaya Siṃha, a posthumous child of Rāpā Saṅga, was about six years old when his elder brother, Vikramāditya, the ruling prince, was assassinated by Banbīr. Udaya's nurse Pānnā, alarmed lest her charge would be the next victim, put the child "into a fruit basket and covering it with leaves" sent it out of the fortress through a servant. To remove suspicion she put in Udaya Siṃha's place her own son who was immediately killed by Banbīr. Everyone even "the inconsolable household of their late sovereign" believed that it was Udaya Siṃha who had thus been put to death. In the meantime the servant was "awaiting the nurse ... some miles west of Chitor, and, fortunately the infant had not awoke until he descended the city". Pānnā met him at the appointed

place, took charge of the child and wandered from place to place for shelter till she came to Kumbhalmer. The Governor of that fort was told that the child was "his sovereign...the son of Saṅga" and was with difficulty prevailed upon to accept the charge of the prince who was passed off by him as his nephew. "Seven years elapsed before the secret transpired". Rumour brought the nobles of Mewar when all doubt was removed by the testimony of the nurse" and the servant. "The Chauhan sardar of Kotaria who was throughout acquainted with the secret, ate off the same platter with him in order to dissipate the remaining scruples which attached to the infant's preservation"¹.

It will be seen that the most romantic episode of the story as told by Tod rests upon the assumption that Udaya Simha, at the time of his brother's assassination, was a mere child. He is in fact said to have been 'only six years of age'. This presupposition is essential to the validity of Tod's version of the story in the incidents of which Udaya Simha was the main but a passive factor ; for it will be admitted that events which can be held to be probable in regard to a child cannot claim the same amount of credence when a grown up boy is concerned. Thus it is possible for a sleeping child of six to be carried away in a fruit basket by a single servant for some distance, but common sense will certainly refuse to entertain the idea that a boy of fifteen, while asleep, could be carried away in the same manner. We may concede that a child of six may be easily replaced by another of its own age, both being asleep, but it is certainly difficult to believe that the place of a boy, about three times as old, could be quietly taken by another, who, to avoid suspicion, must have been of the same age, and both of them quite unconscious of what was happening. Then again, it may be possible to conceal the

¹ Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 267-9.

identity of a child who may never have been sent outside the harem, but it is impossible to believe that a boy of fifteen who had taken an active part in state affairs would require the assistance of witnesses to get the question of identity solved before the sardars among whom he had passed a part of his life and with whom he came into contact almost every day.

It is clear from what is said above that if instead of being a child of six Udaya Sinha could be proved to have been a fully grown up boy quite capable of exercising discrimination, the credibility of the story given by Tod would be considerably lessened. The age of Udaya Sinha at the time of his brother's assassination being thus a vital point for the truth or otherwise of the story of Tod, an attempt will be made to arrive at a definite idea about it and for this purpose assistance will be received from two independent sources—the Rājasthāni Chronicle above referred to and the Mahomedan accounts relating to the time.

Two Mahomedan rulers of the period came in touch with Mewar and their activities throw light upon its history. These were Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat and the Emperor Humayun of Delhi. The former led two expeditions against Mewar in 1532-3 and 1534-5 respectively. As a result of the second expedition Chitor was sacked and the Mahārānā Vikramāditya fled to Būndī along with his younger brother Udaya Sinha. Shortly after the fall of Chitor, Humayun defeated Sultan Bahadur Shah and overran the whole Guzerat. The Emperor then came to Māṇḍu late in August, 1536¹, and spent some months there in pursuit of pleasure, till the news of the disturbances created by Sher Shah in the east of his dominions reaching him he started for Agra by way of Chitor. What events took place there is not recorded by the Mahomedan historians but our manuscript distinctly says that Humayun reseatd Vikramāditya on the throne of

1 *Akbarnamah*, by Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 312.

Mewar¹. This last incident must have occurred late in the year 1536, probably late in November of that year; for, Humayun marched from Chitor to Agra and reached there in the middle of December, 1536. After Vikramāditya had thus regained his paternal throne, Col. Tod tells us that his headstrong policy alienated the sardars of the state who formed a party and approached Banbīr with an appeal to deliver them from the hands of the tyrant. It must have taken some time for the discontent to spread and the sardars to form a party, and, as Vikramāditya had been reinstalled about November, 1536, his assassination at the hands of Banbīr may be safely assumed to have taken place in 1537. It must be borne in mind that Vikramāditya was a *protege* of Humayun, and as such it seems unlikely that so long as the latter was at Agra, Banbīr would dare take such a drastic action against him. Humayun marched against Sher Shah in December 1537, and it was perhaps after that time that Banbīr assassinated Vikramāditya.

It is with reference to this year, 1537, that Udaya Siṃha is said by Tod to have been about six years of age. If we take Tod's statement to be correct we must assume that Udaya Siṃha was born in 1531 A. D. The acceptance of such a view is attended with a serious difficulty. Babur in his memoirs tells us that in September 1528 Rāṇa Sanga (Udaya's father) was already dead²; and, in accepting Tod's estimate as correct we are led to the impossible position that the son was born three years after his father's death. We cannot explain away the difficulty even if it be accepted that Udaya Siṃha was the posthumous son of his father³.

Let us proceed one step further. We have already noted that Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat led two expeditions into

1 Mūhaṇota Nensi's *Khyāto of the Sisodiyas*, tohō 17.

2 *Memoirs of Babur*, by Mrs. Beveridge, Sec. III, p. 612.

3 Cf. *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 361, where Tod says, "the posthumous son of Rana Sanga".

Mewar. What was the necessity of two expeditions being undertaken against the same state within such a short period ? The Mahomedan chronicler says that "the ambition of conquering Chitor again took possession of Bahadur Shah's mind" and he marched against Chitor in 1534¹. The excuse set forth is hardly satisfactory. The Mahomedan historian has apparently failed to recount the real cause of the second expedition, and, I think the only convincing explanation is that which is given in Mūhaṇṇa Nensi's Khyāta. It says that in accordance with one of the terms in the treaty of 1533, Udaya Siṃha was sent as a hostage to the court of Bahadur Shah, but the Rājput prince fled from the Mahomedan court after a short stay, thus violating the most important term of the treaty. As a consequence Bahadur Shah set out on his second expedition against Mewar². We cannot explain it in any other way and Nensi deserves our credit for filling up this discrepancy in the Mahomedan accounts.

We thus find that in 1533, Udaya Siṃha was old enough to be sent as a hostage to a foreign court. On this consideration alone we must shift back the date of Udaya Siṃha's birth by some time before his father's death in 1528. Mūhaṇṇa Nensi again is responsible for providing us with an exact date for this event. He says that Udaya Siṃha was born in 1597 V. S. ³ corresponding to 1522 A. D. approximately. Thus Udaya Siṃha was a boy of eleven years at the time when, accompanied by several sardars of the state, he went to the court of the Sultan of Guzerat as a hostage for the state of Mewar.

Udaya was thus a boy of fifteen in 1537, the year when his elder brother Vikramāditya was in all probability put to death by Banbīr. He was not therefore so young as to be incapable of understanding the danger that threatened his

1 Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 374.

2 Mūhaṇṇa Nensi's *Khyāta of the Śīsodiyās*, folios 38-9.

3 *Ibid*, folio 18.

life. He could not also be carried by a single person in a fruit basket from his sleeping apartment outside the citadel without his being cognisant of the fact. Moreover, if Udaya Sinha's nurse had in reality placed her own son in his bed to remove suspicion, the latter must also be regarded to have been of the same age and thus fully conscious of the danger he was being thrown into. Again, it will have to be conceded that the deception could not have been maintained long after the murder of Udaya Sinha's substitute. Udaya, as we have indicated above, was already well known in Chitor and it is permissible to think that had Udaya Sinha's place been taken by another it would have certainly been detected specially at the time of cremation. On the contrary, Tod would have us believe that even the "inconsolable household of the late sovereign supposed that their grief was given to the last plodge of the illustrious Sanga." The chief sardar with exception of one who was acquainted with Pānnā's action believed that it was Udaya Sinha who had been put to death by Bamfir and could not recognize him at Kumbhalner although these were the very persons with whom he must have come into contact almost everyday in his life! Bamfir the assassin ruled at Chitor believing that Udaya was no more, and it was not till seven years had elapsed that the reality broke upon him!

The above considerations will certainly throw doubt upon the authenticity of the story of nurse Pānnā as told by Tod. In fact the assumption upon which Tod's story rests, namely that Udaya was a mere child and a passive factor at the hands of his supporters, falling to the ground, the details of the story which can be justified only upon that assumption, must also be rejected. This need not cause surprise; for, Tod himself tells us ¹ that he relied upon oral traditions, among others, for the composition of his *Annals of Mewar*. It is probably upon the authority of some such tradition that Tod wrote this romantic episode in his famous book.

SUBIMAL CHANDEA DATTA

¹ *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 251.

Rāma-Rāya, Regent of Vijayanagara (1542-1565)

II

The fact is related by the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda and, although some authors considered his narrative untrustworthy¹, we cannot but admit its truthfulness, considering the fact that several events connected with this rebellion occurred in the very capital of Golkonda in his own days. I shall quote the whole passage of the Muhammadan writer here.

"During the absence of Rāmraj from his capital (to help the Sultan of Bijāpur against that of Ahmednagar, as we shall relate in one of the following chapters) his two brothers, Timraj and Govindrāj, (sic) who were placed in the government of Adoni, taking advantage of his absence usurped the control not only of Adoni, but collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Rāmraj, on his return to Vijayanagara, wrote in the first place letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own force ; and he unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golkonda to solicit assistance. Ibrāhīm Qutab Shāh immediately despatched Qabul Khān, at the head of six thousand infantry, to join Rāmraj. On reaching Vijayanagara Rāmraj ordered his own troops into the field ; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Nur Khān and Bijli Khān, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary force, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adoni, which was besieged for a period of six months, when being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne of Vijayanagara.

1 Cf. H. Krishna Sastri, *The Third Vijayanagara Dynasty, A. S. Report*, 1911-2, p. 178.

Rāmraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital; whence, after being handsomely rewarded, Qabul Khān received permission to return to Golkonda, where the king honoured him with the title of Ean-ul-Mulk"¹

The pardon so graciously granted by Rāma Rāya to his brothers is inexplicable at first but after consideration, it is not unnatural. He wanted to strengthen his power as the same writer points out "by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives"². This is the place for examining some facts that confirm the second point of the preceding statement.

In 1552 Tirumala is known to have ruled the Koocheṭṭa śīma³. Afterwards in 1558-9 a private grant was made while Sadāśiva was ruling at Vijayanagara and Tirumala ruling at Kondavidu⁴. This kingdom had been granted to him by Sadāśiva, that is by Rāma Rāya in the name of Sadāśiva. Ranga, son of the same Tirumala informs us of this in a grant of his dated 1565-6⁵. But probably Tirumala never resided at Kondavidu; we frequently find him at Vijayanagara; for instance, an inscription at Munellu, Badvel Taluk shows that Tirumala in 1554-5 was in the capital administering the empire on behalf of Sadāśiva⁶. In a copper plate grant of the same year, Tirumala granted some privileges to Mahipati Yerrammanayaka for faithful service done to the State and for guarding the village of Gufi, Tādpatri, Vellalūra, Singanamala and Siyyad⁷. This shows beyond doubt that Tirumala was present there in charge of the government of the State, whenever Rāma Rāya was

1 Ferishta, Briggs, III, pp. 397-8.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

3 Butterworth, *o.c.*, II, pp. 93-5.

4 Brackenbury, *Cuddapah Gazetteer*, p. 37.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 946-50.

6 *Catalogue of Copperplate grants in the Government Museum Madras*, p. 53.

absent for war or business purposes. He had an agent at Gudūr of whom we know two charitable edicts of the year 1555-6¹ and 1559-60² respectively.

We know likewise that Venkatādri ruled the country round Tiruvayār near Tanjore in 1559³. A year or two before the disaster of Talikoṭa, he is stated to have been "ruling the whole kingdom" and, in this capacity, to have conferred the government of Bārakūra-rājya on Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, the founder of the Ikēri Nāyakas⁴.

One of the relations of Rāma Rāya elevated by his power was his cousin Viṭṭhala⁵. He was appointed Viceroy of Sadāśiva in the Southern country and Ceylon⁶. A nephew of Rāma Rāya, Koṇḍarāja was also exalted by the influential uncle : he was the grandson of Peda Koṇḍarāja, the brother of Rāma Rāya's father, Raṅga⁷. In an inscription of 1556 he is called "Mahāmaṇḍeśvara Komāra Koṇḍarājayyadeva Mahā-arasu"⁸. He is likewise mentioned in two inscriptions at Bādāmi⁹. His influence at court is shown by the grant of Sadāśiva recorded in the British Museum Plates for fostering Viṣṇu's cult. This grant had been requested by Koṇḍarāja to Rāma Rāya¹⁰. In 1558 Sadāśiva makes another grant on the application of Rāma Rāya, Koṇḍarāja having again made the petition¹¹. Finally another inscription of 1561 records a grant of Konēti Koṇḍarājadeva to the spiritual preceptor¹². Jillela Raṅgapatirājayyadeva Mahārāja, related to the Āravīḍu family on his mother's side, was

1 Butterworth, o.c., I, pp. 458-60. 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 456-8.

3 126 of 1894. 4 H. Krishna Sastri, o.c., p. 179.

5 *M.E.R.*, 1911, p. 86 ; 1912, pp. 82 ff.

6 129 of 1905; cf. Heras, *Rāma Rāya Viṭṭhala, Viceroy of Southern India*, *O.J.M.S.*, xv, pp. 176-190.

7 British Museum Plates of Sadāśiva, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 4. vv. 125-40.

8 *Ep. Carn.*, I, pp. 12, 19.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 64

10 *Ep. Ind.*, p. 2.

11 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp. 186.

12 *M.A.D.*, 1920, p. 59.

also elevated by the powerful Regent. He was appointed Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and governor of Rāmadurgam sīma, where he had an agent called Amarināyami Veṅgala Nāyaṅgārū¹. Moreover Rāma Rāya "was so generous", according to Mamuccei,—“that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. He confirmed any grant he made by a record of golden plates....Owing to the liberality of this Emperor his fame spread, and many men of different nations resorted to him and entered his service, principally foreigners”².

This elevation of relatives was not only in order to strengthen his actual power but to prepare thereby the final step he was contemplating. The beginning of the second stage had been marked by a *coup d'état* for such indeed was the imprisonment of the Sovereign. But for the beginning of the third, no such strong action was necessary. The omission of the annual show of the puppet Emperor, coupled with rumours purposely spread by the very agents of Rāma Rāya about the supposed demise of the Sovereign, was quite enough for every body to acknowledge Rāma Rāya as the new Emperor of Vijayanagara, seeing that he was practically the Sovereign and also the closest relative of Sadāśiva, although belonging to a different family.

There are several grants and inscriptions belonging to this second stage which prove the preparation for this final step. In 1551 in the Bēvinahalli grant of Sadāśiva, Rāma Rāya is already given the title 'King of Karnāṭa'³ likewise, in another grant of Sadāśiva in 1556-7⁴. In 1554, Rāma Rāya himself made another grant to some brāhmanas in the same form as the old grants of the emperors of Vijayanagara. In the beginning, it invokes Gaṇeśa and the Boar, the sportive incarnation of Viṣṇu; then it relates Rāma Rāya's pedigree from Buddha and the Purūravas, speaks of the deeds

1 445 of 1911.

2 Mamuccei, *Storia do Mogor*, III, 97.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 230, v. 30.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 154.

of Rāma Rāya and his brothers, without mentioning Sadāśiva at all, and says finally : "while having uprooted all the enemies, Rāma Rāya ruled over the earth as famous as Bharata and Bhagīratha"¹.

After thirteen years the power of Rāma Rāya in Vijayanagara had become sufficiently strong ; rumours were probably spread about that Sadāśiva was dead. Then the ambitious Regent took for himself the title of king. "After Sadāśiva's death" says Anquetil du Perron, "Rāma Rāya was nominated king"². It seems probable that a real ceremony of enthronement took place in the capital, for C. Frederick expressly says that Rāma Rāya "sat in the Royal throne and was called the king"³. Even Manucci, in 1688, called Rāma Rāya 'Emperor of Narsinga'⁴. And probably new pagodas were at once struck with his name. "We do not know of any coin of Rāma Rāya bearing such an early date but we are aware of coins struck with his name on the eve of the battle of Talikota : the famous *Gandikota pagoda* gives the name of Rāma Rāya and the date 1565 and has on the obverse, a figure of Viṣṇu standing under a canopy⁵.

Since this date, some time in 1563, the ceremony of showing the Emperor to his subjects was discontinued. But the three brothers used to go once a year to his prison-like palace in order to do homage to him as their Sovereign⁶.

The epigraphical evidence on this point is more than sufficient. A copper plate record at Dēvarāyadurga of 1562-3 says that Rāma Rāya reigned supreme at Vijayanagara⁷. A private grant of the same year mentions Rāma Rāya as 'ruling the empire', and does not mention Sadāśiva⁸. An

1 *M.A.D.*, 1923, pp. 125-7.

2 Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

3 Frederick, l. c. ; Gubernatis, o.c., p. 290.

4 Manucci, o. c., III, p. 97.

5 Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 64. (Calcutta 1922).

6 Couto, VI, p. 383.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm, 44.

8 *Ibid.*, Tk. 44.

inscription at Krishnarājapet Taluk records a grant made "while the Rājādhirāja rāja-paramesvara vira-pratāpa-mahārāya Rāma Deva Rāya Aiyangar was seated on the jewelled throne in Penukonda"¹. There is still another inscription, dated 1565, the same year as the battle of Talikota, that gives Rāma Rāya the same imperial titles and does not mention Sadaśiva at all; it is a grant made "when the master of Kuntala (Karnāṭa), lord of the throne of Vidyānagari (Vijayanagara), the Rājādhirāja rāja-paramesvara vira-pratāpa vira Rāma Deva Rāya mahārāya, seated on the jewelled throne was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom"². Even in an inscription of 1581, during the reign of Rāga I, Rāma Rāya is called Rājādhirāja³, and in another of Venkaṭa III, 1639, he is recorded to have governed the whole world⁴. Along with the lythic records, Anantaçārya in his poem *Prapannāmṛtam* calls Rāma Rāya 'Emperor of Vijayanagara who ruled after Kṛṣṇa Rāya'⁵.

Now, if the Hindus, who were under Vijayanagara rule, forgot Sadaśiva, who was supposed to be dead, and mentioned only Rāma Rāya as the Emperor of Vijayanagara, no wonder Ferishta says nothing of the former and always speak of the latter as the Sovereign of the rival empire⁶. When detailing the battle of Talikota, we shall see how Ferishta describes the riches of the throne of Rāma Rāya on the battle field. F. Sousa speaks of Cidosa (Sadaśiva) King of Canara (Vijayanagara) but from 1559 the only

1 *Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 79. I am sure that this inscription is spurious because of the date 1543, and of the mention of Penukonda as the place where the Emperor was residing. The forgery must have been committed during the reign of Rāga I or Venkaṭa II. Nevertheless, even a forgery proves that Rāma Rāya was considered the real Emperor of Vijayanagara.

2 *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Ci, 62.

3 *Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 15.

4 *Ibid.*, III, Nj, 198.

5 S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202.

6 Ferishta, Briggs, III, pp. 117, 118, 131, etc.

known king of Vijayanagara according to him is Rāma Rāya¹.

The following information given us by his minister and favourite Rāmayānātya Todaramalla in his *Svarame-lakṣaṇanidhi* probably refers to his time: "He had a palace called Ratna Kuṭa", says he, "constructed by his minister Rāmayānātya and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayanta, the palace of the gods. The palace was surrounded by extensive gardens, adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans"².

Rāma Rāya at this time handed over to his brothers all the government affairs and devoted himself to music and literature. "Seated within this palace (Ratna Kuṭa)" says Rāmayānātya, "spent his time in the midst of scholars versed in literature, music and other arts"³. Accordingly a grant of Veṅkaṭa II, 1589, informs us that Rāma Rāya had a great pleasure in music on the vīṇā and singing⁴. With these years probably is associated the trip of Rāma Rāya with his Guru Tātācarya, the son of Śrīnivāsa, to the fortress of Candragiri, to spend some days in that sacred retirement dedicated to the study of the śāstras⁵. This time of leisure in the last years of Rāma Rāya is also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Manucci, one century later; "after this division" says he, "he led a happy life, without attending to government or taking any notice of what went on"⁶.

Tirumala was naturally in charge of the whole government. He was the supreme minister of Vijayanagara during the last days preceding the battle of Talikota⁷. The titles given him at this time are as follows: Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara

1 Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, II, pp. 189, 273 (Lisboa, 1674).

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 190.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cy, 39.

5 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, o. c., p. 202.

6 Manucci, o. c., III, p. 98.

7 *M. E. R.*, 341, App. B, of 1816.

Rāmarāya-Yaram - Tirumalarājayyadeva Madaraja¹. The appointment of Tirumala, as Premier of the Empire, left a vacancy in the viceroyalty of Kondavīdu; and it was then probably that Rāma Raya, following his policy of elevating his relatives and friends, appointed to this honour his favourite, the poet Ramayānātya, enabling him thus to grant many agrahāras to brāhmanas². When the poet died, Siddhārpa Timma Rāju, another nephew of Rāma Raya, was appointed his Viceroy at Kondavīdu³.

Tirumala, besides being Minister, was also appointed Governor of Vellore and of the whole surrounding country⁴. We know an inscription of him, dated 1564, allowing Chinnu - Benna Nāyaka of Vellore, to make grants to the temple of that place⁵.

In the new order of government, Venkatadri was Commander in chief of the army⁶. The success attending his conduct as a General in the Vijayanagara army proved that the election was rightly made. The Vellangudi plates of Venkata II recall that 'he was distinguished in the world as a warrior', and in the *Rāmaraṣṭrānam* he is stated to have been a formidable Arjuna in the battle field⁷.

After a careful study of all these authorities, it appears quite evident that the real founder of the Aravidu dynasty must not be considered to have been Tirumala, Sadasiya's successor. His brother Rāma Raya, some years previous to the Talikota disaster, had already paved for his family the path leading to the throne, which he actually mounted with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Empire.

H. HARRIS

1. Anquetil du Perron, *o. c.*, p. 165.

2. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o. c.*, p. 192.

3. *Paramarogī Vilāsam*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *o. c.*, p. 211.

4. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 43-5.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 69. 6. Anquetil du Perron, *l. c.*

7. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 569, 570.

8. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Source*, I, 222.

Buddha as an Architect

"In Buddha's time and in that portion of northern India where the Buddhist influence was most early felt—that is to say, in the districts including and adjoining those now called the United Provinces and Behar—the arrangement of villages were practically similar. "We nowhere hear of isolated houses. The houses were all together, in a group, separated only by narrow lanes. Immediately adjoining was the sacred grove of trees of the primeval forest.....Beyond this was the wide expanse of cultivated field, usually rice-field. Villagers are described as uniting of their own accord to build mote-halls and rest-houses and reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages, and even to lay out parks."¹

The exact details of town planning are not available. But "we are told of lofty walls, ramparts with buttresses and watch-towers and great gates: the whole surrounded by a moat or even a double moat, one of water and one of mud. But we are nowhere told of the length of the fortifications or of the extent of the space they enclosed. It would seem that we have to think not so much of a large walled city as of a fort surrounded by a number of suburbs.....From the frequent mention of the windows of the great houses opening directly on to the streets or squares it would appear that it was not the custom to have them surrounded by any private grounds. There were, however, no doubt, enclosed spaces behind the fronts of the houses, which latter abutted on the streets."²

1. Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, pp. 42, 45, 49.

2. R. D., pp. 64, 65. Cf. The hill fortress, Girivraja, four and half miles in circumference, is said to have been built by Mahāgovinda, the architect. Bimbisara is stated to have built Rajagaha, king's house, which was three miles in circumference. "The stone walls of Girivraja are the oldest extant stone buildings in India". Mention is also made of

Unlike villages and towns, the details of building are found in abundance in the canonical text as well as the Jātakas. At places it appears as if Buddha were delivering discourses on architecture. As a matter of fact, he enjoined upon his devotees the supervision of building construction as one of the duties of the order¹. It is stated in one of the early texts that the bhikkhus were told on a certain occasion by the Blessed One after the delivery of a religious discourse with respect to dwellings: "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—*Vihāra*, *Ardayoga*, *Prāsada*, *Harmya*, and *Gahā*"². Buildings are thus divided into five classes. The details of the distinctions are not methodically given in the texts inasmuch as these are not architectural treatises³.

At present, Banarasi, Kumbhila, Kumbhila, Madhura, Mithila, Sāradā, Seta, Savathi, Ujjain, Vesālī and other cities of which however the architectural details are not enough. Vinaya, other commentaries, p. 24. compare Digh. 81v, 86⁴.

Duttapinnā, Kāṇḍiyanā, Aśvakaśāra Potana,

Mahāsati, Avantīnā, Savasthāna, Rorukam,

Mithilā, ca Videhanā, Campa, Magesa, mapita,

Brahmā, ca Kāśīnā, etc. Geyiā, mapita⁵.

1. Culavagga, VI, 17, 1 (manu), pp. 212-216.

2. Vinaya texts, Mahāvagga, I, 30, 1 (pp. 73-4). Culavagga, VI, 1, 1, pp. 158.

3. The commentator Buddhaghosa has, however, submitted an explanatory note. "Vihāra" is the well-known Buddhist monastery. "Ardayoga," which literally means "half joined," is cited by this commentator to imply "Savayana-āṭṭhagṛha" or "spald-coloured Bengal house", as rendered by Oldenberg and Rhy. Davids. There seems, however, no such class of houses in Bengal. Nor has this class of buildings been mentioned in the Sīpasātra. It is clear, however, that these are meant to imply some sort of laic or lay buildings of the then Bengal. Regarding "prāsada" Buddhaghosa implies that it is a long prāsada. Rhy. Davids has made these conjecture,—"a long storied mansion, or the whole of an upper storey, or the

Vihāras are the well-known monasteries or temples of the Buddhists, originally implying halls where the monks met. *Ardhagopas* seem to be a special kind of Bengal buildings, partly for religious and partly for residential purposes. *Prasādas* are wholly residential storeyed buildings; *harmyas* are a larger and more pompous type of storeyed buildings. *Guhās* seem to be less dignified buildings, originally built underground for middle class people. The extensiveness of these buildings can be imagined from the length of time devoted to getting a house completely built. Thus it is stated that "with reference to the work of a small *Vihāra*, it may be given in charge (to an overseer) as a *parakkamma* (new work) for a period of five or six years, that on an *Ardhagopā* for a period of seven or eight years, that on a large *Vihāra* or a *Pāsāda* for ten or twelve years!" That the long periods were not idled away

storeyed building." Sir M. M. Williams seems to explain this by "the monk's hall for a study and meditation." However, it is stated to be a palace with an upper chamber placed on the top-most storey. The references to the uses of 'prasāda' and 'harmya' as found in the *Silpaśāstras*, general Sanskrit literatures, and the archaeological record will be found in the writer's Dictionary under those terms. 'Guhā' literally means cave and would seem to refer to underground buildings. One of the *Jātakas* (*Ummagga*, p. 136) actually contains an elaborate description of an underground palace, and such have been the rock cut temples, as in the famous Ajanta caves. According to Buddhaghosa the *gūha* buildings are of four kinds, namely, as they are built of bricks, stone, wood, or earth. Rhys Davids has rendered 'Silagūha' by 'hut made in a rock' and left out the translation of 'paṇṣu' (Sanskrit 'paṇṣu' meaning sand, dust, or crumbling soil; *gūha* 'Buddhaghosa has thus explained the *paṇṣaḍaṇṇi* under *Mahāvagga* 1.30.4—

"*Ardhagopā* ti suvaṇṇavaṅggehāṇa. *Pāsāda* ti dighapāsāda. *Hammiya* ti upari akasatale patitthitakūṭaḥaro pasāda yeva. *Gūha* ti iṭṭhaka-gūha, iligūha, daragūha, paṇṣugūha.

Compare also Oldenberg and Rhys David's Vinaya texts, translation *Mahāvagga*, p. 173 note, also *Cullavagga*, p. 151 note 2.

1. *Cullavagga*, VI, 17, 1.

will be clear from the detail of houses gathered mainly from the Vinaya texts.¹

The selection of building sites shows a highly developed good taste. The *Ārāma*, well fitted for quiet-loving people is stated to be built "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and for coming, easily accessible for all who wish to visit him, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm....."² The whole compound is enclosed with ramparts (*prākāra*) of three kinds, namely, brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences which are again surrounded with bamboo fences, thorn fences, and ditches.³

Houses were built comprising "dwelling-rooms and retiring rooms, and store-rooms, and service-halls and halls with fire-places in them, and store-house, and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms, and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds and open-roofed sheds (*anālapats*)⁴. These buildings are meant to be dwelling houses : so it is stated that "an *upasaka* (devotee) has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, an one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a relectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a well, a well-house, a *gantraṭṭha* (which is supposed by Bühler to be a bathing place for hot sitting baths), a *gantraṭṭha* room, a lotus pond and a pavilion"⁵.

The inner chambers are divided into three classes, called *Sivikā-garbhā* or square halls, *Nalika-garbhā* or rectangular halls, and *Harmya-garbhā*, which seems to be a large dining hall⁶. The verandahs (*alinda*) seem to have been a special characteristic of these buildings. The Blessed One (Buddha)

1 Cullavagga VI, 5.

2 Ibid., VI, 4, 8.

3 Ibid., VI, 3, 7, 10.

4 Ibid., VI, 4, 10.

5 Mahavagga III, 5, 9; also III, 5, 6.

6 About this last Buddhaghosa seems to be doubtful and says *hammiya gabbho ti kuṭagara gabbho mudapucchādāna gabbho vā*; but

says "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and over-hanging eaves"¹. The storeyed buildings (*prāsāda*) are stated to be furnished with "a verandah to it supported on pillars with capitals of elephant head"².

Details of gates, doors and windows are also elaborate. Gateways are built with rooms, and ornamental screen-work over them³. And gates are made of stakes interlaced with thorny brakes⁴.

Doors are furnished with "door posts and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed in to the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into (called the monkey's head), with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for that purpose"⁵. The windows

about the other two terms be it clear : *ivika gabbho ti caturāya gabbho ; nālika gabbho ti vittharato dviguṇatiguṇaṃ dāgho gabbho* (Cullavagga, VI, 3, 3). But Oldenberg and Rhys Davids seem to have been wholly misled when they translate these last two by "palanquin shaped and quart measure shaped," about the last of which the Indians of even to-day are quite unfamiliar.

1. Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5, commented by Buddhaghosa : *Alinda nāma pamukhaṃ vuccatī*. Compare *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, verse 218, *Paḡhaṇaṃ nāma yaṃ nikhaṇanta ca pavisaṇta ca padhī hananti, tassa vihāra dvāre ubbato kuttuṇaṃ niharitva katapadesassa etam adhivaṇaṇaṃ, paḡhaṇaṃ ti pi vuccatī. Pakuṭṭana ti majjhe gabbhassa samaṇṭa pariyaḡāro vuccatī pakuṭṭaṇa ti paḡho. Osarako ti anālindake vaṇṇasaṃ datvā tato daṇḍake osareṭva kaṭuṇaṃ chadanapamukhaṇa*.

2. *Ibid.*, VI, 14, 1 *hatthinakhakaṃ* supported on the frontal globes (*śambha*) of elephants, says Buddhaghosa.

3. Cullavagga, VI, 4, 10 ; 3, 1 : 'tosapa' of which excellent examples in stone have been found at the Sanchi and Bharhut Topes.

4. *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 10.

5. *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 8 also 2, 1 and 17, 1. Compare the distinction between 'kavaya' door proper and 'dvāra' door-way or gate-way. The

are stated to be of three kinds according as they are made with railings, lattices, or slips of wood¹. The shutters are adjustable and can be closed or opened whenever required². Five kinds of roofing are mentioned, brick roofing, stone roofing, cement roofing, straw roofing, and roofing of leaves³. The roof is first covered over with skins and plastered within and without; then follow white wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath work and creeper work⁴. "The floors were of earth, not of wood, and were restored from time to time by fresh clay or dry cowdung being laid down, and then covered with a white wash, in which sometimes black or red was mixed. From the parallel passage in Mahāvagga (I. 25. 15) and Cullavagga (VIII. 3. 1), it would seem that the red colouring was used rather for walls, and the black one for floors⁵. It appears, however, that with a

keys, are stated to be of three kinds—*a*—they are made of bone, hard wood, or horn (VI. 2. 1).

1. Cullavagga, VI. 2. 1. 'Vedika vatapāṇaṃ' which according to Buddhaghosa means 'cetiye vedikāsādisaṃ' of which 'veshika' has been explained by Rhys David in his note on MahāSudassana Sutta (I. 10. 1) see R. D.'s *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 162. 'jala vatapāṇaṃ' nāma 'jalake jala ghaṇa' of which 'jala' literally means 'net' but corresponds to lattice. R. D. advise to compare Anglo-Indian jalousie (p. 162). 'śalaka vatapāṇaṃ nāma śalambhaka vatapāṇaṃ' which 'possibly means 'with slips of wood arranged horizontally as in our venetian blind' (p. 163). In spite of all these, the learned orientalist, Rhys David and Oldenberg would say that "There were, of course, no windows in our modern sense, but only spaces left in the wall to admit light and air, and covered by lattices of three kind" (note on Ibid., VIII. 3. 1, translation p. 279).

2. Mahāvagga, I. 25. 18; Cullavagga VIII. 3. 1.

3. Cullavagga, VI. 3. 10. Compare also VI. 3. 8, 3. 3, etc.

4. Ibid., V. 11. 6; the rendering of the term 'ogumpheti', which also occurs in Mahāvagga V. 11, by 'skins' seems doubtful and unsatisfactory. Buddhaghosa in his note at the latter place says 'ogum phiyanti bhitti dappakādi u veshetva bandhati'.

view to removing the dampness¹ gravel was spread over the floor².

There were stairs of three kinds, namely, brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs. And they were furnished with *alambana-lāhā* or balustrades³. A more detailed description of flights of stairs (*sopāna*) is given in the Mahā Sudassana Sutta. "Each of these had a *thambha*, evidently posts or banisters; *sāciya*, apparently cross-bars let into these banisters; and *ambhaka*, either a head-line running along the top of the banisters, or a figure head at the lower end of such a head-line"⁴.

Thus it is clear that very minute details also were mentioned in this literature. The subject, therefore, seems to have been treated more than in a casual manner.

"The entrance to the great houses was through a large gateway. To the right and left of the entrance passage were the treasure and grain stores. The gateway led into an inner courtyard round which were chambers on the ground floor. And above these chambers was a flat roof called the *aparī-pasāda-taṭa*, the upper flat surface of the house, where the owner sat, usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing-room, an office, and a dining hall."

"In the king's palace there was accommodation also for all the business of the state, and for the numerous retinue and and the extensive harem.....The supplementary buildings included three institutions which are strange to us, and of considerable historical interest."

"We are told several times of a building of seven storeys

1 Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, note on Cullavagga, VI, 20. 2.

2 Compare Cullavagga, V, 14, 5.

3 Cullavagga, V, 11, 6.

4 Mahā Sudassana Sutta, I, 59. See also R. David's Buddhist Sutta, p. 202, and compare Cullavagga, VI, 3, 3.

in height¹." Rhys Davids seems to be of opinion that these buildings must have some connection with the seven-storeyed Ziggurats of Chaldaea. "But in India the use to which such seven-storeyed palaces were put was entirely private, and had nothing to do with any worship of the stars." Still the learned Professor would add that "in this case also the Indians were borrowers of an idea."

"Another sort of building historically interesting were the hot-air baths, described in full in the Vinaya texts². They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone with stone stairs up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skin, and then with plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber, and a hot room, and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire place in the middle of the hot room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers....."

In the Digha Nikaya³ there is a description of another sort of bath, an open-air bathing tank, with flights of steps leading to it faced entirely of stone, and ornamented both with flowers and carvings."

The Dāgobas or topes were another class of monuments,

1. Satta-bhumaka-pasāda. Jātaka, I, pp. 327, 346; V, pp. 53, 179; VI, p. 577. R. Davids refers to a building "still standing at Palātipaṇa in Ceylon and the thousand stone pillars on which another was erected at Anurādhapura". Buddhist India, p. 70.

2. III, pp. 110, 297. "After the bath there was bampooing, and then a plunge into the pool." "It is very curious to find" observes Rhys Davids "at this very early date in the Ganges valley a sort of bathing so closely resembling our modern so-called 'Turkish bath'. 'Did the Turks' he asks 'derive this custom from India?'" p. 74.

3. Buddhist Suttas, pp. 262 foll. translated by R. David, who refers to "several ancient baths still to be seen at Anurādhapura in a fair state of preservation in spite of the more than two thousand years that have elapsed since they were first constructed". p. 76.

erected in the cemeteries¹. They were pre-Buddhist in origin² but became very prominent after Buddha. The priestly records, however, ignore these topes, because they were erected "more especially by those who had thrown off their allegiance to the priests, and were desirous to honour the memory of their teachers, who were leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers."

"The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones and to cover the outside with fine *cunnam* plaster to give a marble-like surface. The next step was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing."

"Even in Buddha's time the size of these monuments had already reached very considerable dimensions. The solid dome erected by the Sākiyas over their share of the ashes from Buddha's funeral pyre must have been about the same height as the dome of the St. Paul measured from the roof"³.

In the books referring to the earlier Buddhist period stone seems to have been used only for pillars, walls, and stair-cases. A palace of stone is once mentioned in a fairy land⁴. According to Rhys Davids, "the superstructure, at least, of all dwellings was either of woodwork or brickwork. In either case it was often covered, both internally and externally, with

1. Vinaya texts, IV, p. 308.

2. Cf. White Yajurveda, chap. 35 and Writer's Dictionary.

3. R. Davids, pp. 83-4. The reference to a large number of topes will be found in the Writer's Dictionary under stupa. Buddhaghosa's enumeration of the parts of a palace also shows the popularity of the subject of architecture in Buddhist literature. "Ayaṃ phasso nama yathā pasadaṃ patva thambho nāma, sesadabhasambharāṇaṃ balavapaccayo tulāsaṃghāṭabhittipādakuṭagopānasīpakkhapāsamu-khavaṭṭiyo thambhe baddha thambhe patitṭhita evaṃ eva saha-jātasampayuttadhamanaṃ balavapaccayo hoti". Atthasālinī, p. 107.

Jat. VI, p. 209.

fine *cunnum* plaster-works, and brilliantly painted in fresco, with figures or patterns", four of which have been preserved, namely, wreath-work, creeper-work, fine-ribbon-work and dragon's tooth-work¹. When the figures predominated the result is often called a picture gallery (*cittagāra*)².

The articles of furniture which form an important part of the architectural treatises are also elaborately described in the Buddhist literature. "Benches were made long enough to accommodate three persons"³. The bedstead (*padhuka*) or divan was a separate piece of furniture⁴. Large couches (*asandi*) or chairs seem to have been some important articles of furniture⁵. Couches covered with canopies are also mentioned⁶. Mention is made of a large variety of chairs: rectangular chair (*āsandaḥa*), arm chair, sofa (*sattāṅga*), sofa with arms to it, state chair (*bhadda pitham*), cushioned chair (*viñhilā*), chair raised on a pedestal (*elaka-padaka pitham*), chair with many legs (*ānadaḥa-cattika-pitham*), leaning board (*phalakam*), cane-bottomed chair (*locchan*) and straw-bottomed chair⁷. Mention is also made of the litter or sedan chair⁸.

Valuable carpets, rugs, pillows, curtains, and such other luxurious decorations also are elaborately described. Thus

1 Vinaya texts, II, p. 67; IV, p. 47.

2 R. Davids, p. 68. ; Cullavagga, VI, 13, 2.

3 Cullavagga, VI, 14, 1; VI, 8, 1, etc. Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

4 Ibid., VI, 14, 1; VI, 8, 1, etc. Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg render *asandi* twice by cushions and once by couches and Childers by chairs in his Dictionary. It seems to imply Sanskrit *āsana* which means 'seat'.

5 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 3.

6 Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4. Renderings are mostly those made by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg depending on Buddhaghosa's note. Compare also Cullavagga, VI, 20, 2 and VIII, 1, 3. *Apasena-phalakam* as a "board to lean against" is also mentioned in the Mahāvagga I, 25, 15, 16. For arm-chair and sofa there seem to be another expression *apāsayaṃ*; see Buddhaghosa's note on Cullavagga, VI, 2, 4.

7 Mahāvagga, V, 10, 2.

mention is made of "coverlets with long fleece, counterpanes of many colours, woollen coverlets white or marked with thick flowers, mattresses, cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals, rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpet inwrought with gold or with silk, large woollen carpets such as the nautch (dancing) girls dance upon, rich elephant housings, horse rugs or carriage rugs, panther or antelope skins, large cushions and crimson cushions¹". Pillows are of various kinds. Pillows are stated to be of both "the size of a man's head" and half "the size of a man's body." The Buddha allows the bhikkhus "to comb out the cotton, and make the cotton up into pillows if it be of any of these three kinds—cotton produced on trees, cotton produced on creepers, and cotton produced from potaki-grass²." The bolsters made for the use of high officials were of five kinds as they were stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or leaves. There were also coverlets for them³. The smaller articles like the floor cloth, mosquito curtain, handkerchief and spittoon did not escape the notice of the then house decorators⁴.

P. K. Acharyya

1. Mahavagga, V, 10, 3.

2. Cullavagga, VI, 2, 6; see also IV, 44 and VIII, 1, 3.

3. Ibid., VI, 27, 1.

4. Ibid., VI, 20, 1; V, 14, 1; Mahāvagga, VII, 18 for colaka or handkerchief; see also Cullavagga, VI, 19; V, 9, 4.

Message from Barhut Jātaka Labels

There are some thirty two surviving labels attached to various carvings illustrating anecdotes from the previous Bodhisattva-career of the supreme Master. Each scene represents either a complete Birth-story, or a single incident relating to a particular birth, or a number of episodes. The following labels, attached to some of these scenes, name the Birth-stories after the Bodhisattva :—

Maghādeviya-Jātaka.

Isimiga-Jātaka.

(Bhojājānūya-Jātaka.

Hansa-Jātaka.

Nāga-Jātaka.

Sujata-gohuta-Jātaka.

Latuvā-Jātaka.

Miga-Jātaka.

Chadantiya-Jātaka.

Isisingiya-Jātaka.

Mugapakaya-Jātaka.

Some of the scenes bear labels containing the names of the principal actors in the whole birth story or in a particular episode. The following labels will illustrate the point :—

Asadā vadhu susāne sigālā ñatī.

“The young woman, jackals on the funeral ground and kinsman”.

Kaṇḍari-Ki(narā)

“The episode of Kaṇḍari and Kinnarā”.

Biḍala-Jātaka Kukuṭa-Jātaka.

“The Jātaka-episode of the Cat and the Cock”.

Ud-Jātaka.

“The Jātaka-episode of otters”.

Vijapi-Vijādhara.

“The spell-muttering Vidyādhara in a Jātaka scene”.

Kinnara-Jātaka.

"The Jātaka-scene of Kinnaras".

Usukāro Janako rājā Sivalā devi.

"The arrow-maker, King Janaka and Queen Sivalī in a Jātaka-scene".

Vitura-Punakiya-Jātaka.

"The Jātaka-episode about Vidūra and Pūrṇaka".

In one of the labels, the name of the Birth-story contains the opening words of the moral verse :—

Yam brahmaṇa-avayesi-Jātaka.

"The birth-story with the verse: When the Brahmin played, etc".

Some of the labels describe main actions in the scenes :

Secha-Jātaka.

"The drawing of water in a Jātaka-scene".

Dighatapasi siso anusāsati.

"The venerable ascetic teacher instructs his pupils".

Bhisaharamiya-Jātaka.

"About the stealing of lotus-fibres in a Jātaka scene".

Vaduka katha dohati Nāḍode pavate.

"Vaduka extracts the juicy balm on Mt. Nārada".

Dusito giri dadati tina.

"The corrupted hill offers grass".

A few labels characterise the scenes by some external associations :—

Miga-samadakaṃ cetaya.

"A woodland shrine in an animal feeding-ground".

Daḍa-nikamo cakamo.

"The walk wherefrom escape is difficult".

Citupāda-sila.

"The gambler fond of square-board game."

Abode eātiyam.

"At the watery lake."

Tikoṭiko cakamo.

"The triangular enclosure".

Jabū Nāḍode pavate.

"The rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada."

These labels or indexes constitute a distinctive feature of the Jātaka-illustrations at Barhut. Similar carvings at Bodhi-Gayā, Sanchi, Sarnath, Amarāvati, Taxila and Ajanta do not bear such labels or headings. But you may be pleased to hear that this custom of indexing the artistic illustrations by means of inscriptions survives or is continued in Burma. If you try to reach the Shwe Dagon Pagoda by its south gate, you are sure to come across on your way, in two gate-chambers, two groups of carvings with descriptive labels, legibly and separately written in Burmese below each individual scene. The same holds true of numerous Jātaka-carvings adorning different Pagodas at Pagan. So far as the Barhut labels and scenes go, these enable one to detect instances where the label bears the name of the entire Birth-story while the carving actually depicts a particular episode of it. Consider, for instance, the carving depicting a scene of the birth of Isisinga or R̥śyaśṛṅga from a doe, which is but an introductory episode of the Isisinggiya-Jātaka, as it is entitled in the label. In all later Buddhist narrations, whether in Pāli or in Sanskrit, one is sure to come across instead of one, two separate Jātakas, viz., Alambusa and Nalinikā. These two Jātakas, as can be ascertained from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata version of the story of R̥śyaśṛṅga, originally two component parts of one and the same story. Their separation cannot be explained otherwise than by the intervention of an artistic version such as that at Barhut. In Fausbøll's edition of the second Jātaka-Commentary, the story of Kaṇḍari-Kinnara is introduced as a distinct Birth-story and as an interlude in another Jātaka, namely, the Tesakupa. The evidence of our railing-carving leaves one in the dark as to the actual position of this story in the Jātaka-collection then known. But these two instances certainly enable you to understand the processes of multiplication of the number of Jātakas. If two component parts of the R̥śyaśṛṅga-story be joined together, they must be counted as one Jātaka, and if separated, they must

be counted as two Jātakas. Similarly if the story of Kaṇḍari-Kinnarā be taken independently, it must be counted as one Jātaka, and if as an interlude of another Jātaka, its individuality vanishes altogether, which means a reduction of the total number of Jātakas. There was a stage in the development of Jātakas when their total number was counted as 500. This continued to be so till the Chinese traveller Fa-Hien visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th Century A. D. From the time of Buddhaghosa the Jātaka total has been counted as 550. The processes indicated above clearly explain the multiplication and its mechanical character. This is not all. There is one carving illustrating Mahauṣadha's power of judgment displayed at the market-town Yavama-dhyaka. The annexed heading Yavamajhakiya Jātaka leads one to treat the scene as the illustration of a complete Birth-story. But in the existing Commentary version, the story of Mahauṣadha's feats of wisdom at Yavamadhyaka is just one of the many episodes composing the narrative of the Maha-Ummagga-Jātaka, entitled Mahosadha-Jātaka in the Talaing heading at Pagan. Judging by the evidence of our railing, it will be too bold to presume the Commentary-story, as we now have it, was then known. The label and the carving at Barhut rather suggest an earlier and much shorter form of the Birth-story only dilating upon Mahauṣadha's power of judgment. The list of illustrated scenes from Buddha's life, so far as this can be identified partly with the aid of the labels, betrays a definite and comprehensive scheme, comprising selected stories of the present and those of the past, and preventing reduplication. It was not possible for persons other than the Buddhists, intimately acquainted with traditions and religious needs, to scheme out the plan. Though now too late and the harm has already been done, one must always regret to be confronted with an irregular order of the carvings due, no doubt, to the lack of supervision on the part of the superintending monks and the ignorance and haste of the sculptors and craftsmen. It is also due, as one can imagine, to the insis-

tence of the donors to place their gifts first with carvings of their liking. Though there was a ready-made plan, it was worked out gradually, according to opportunities. The result is in a sense fatal. In one case, the same scene, namely, that of Buddha's demise has been reproduced twice. In two other cases, two scenes have been huddled together, viz., (1) the scene of the Mahāpadāna discourse and that of Śakyamuni's enlightenment; (2) the scene of the first sermon near Benares and that of King Prasenajit's interview with the Master. In a third case, one finds that two connected scenes of the Māliposaka-Jātaka have been set wide apart instead of being placed consecutively, in order. In the fourth instance, the artists have placed four connected scenes of the same story in four consecutive panels of the coping without the regular intervening of ornamental designs. Upon the whole, the topsy-turvy order of the scenes baffles all attempts, without an external aid, to determine the traditional succession of the episodes presupposed by them. The baneful effect of this is marked in the Mahāvastu story of Buddha. The most instructive point in the list is that it includes legends and stories, most of which agree with those in Pali, where there are some that can be traced only in the Lalita Vīṭaṇḍa and not elsewhere, some that can be traced only in the Avadāna Śātaka and not elsewhere, some that can be traced in the Divyavadāna and the Avadanakalpalatāni and not elsewhere, some that are peculiar to the Barhut scheme, and some that are common to all traditions. This fact alone points to a distinct Buddhist source, having some points of contact or similarity with all other Buddhist traditions of the time.

B. M. BARUA

Identification of the princes and territories mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta

During my class work with the M. A. students of the Calcutta University, I had more than one occasion to lecture on the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The most important portion of this epigraph consists of the names of the various princes with whom he fought or entered into alliance. The late Mr. V. A. Smith was the first to make a systematic attempt to identify them, and his paper, published in *JR. AS.*, 1897, pp. 87 ff., may still be read with profit by the student of ancient Indian history. In later times, M. G. Juvencat Dubreuil made a similar attempt in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*, but he did not go beyond the identification of the kings of the south (Dakṣiṇapatha). He was followed by Dr. H. Raychaudhuri, who took us one step forward by identifying more kings and locating their kingdoms in his *Political History of Ancient India*. Stray attempts have been made by other scholars also, perhaps the most important of whom is Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who read a small paper on it before the first Oriental Conference in 1919. For my lectures to the M. A. classes on this little record I had to draw up some brief notes for the guidance of the students. As some of these are not altogether devoid of originality and are likely to be interesting to scholars, I have been asked to publish them; and it is these that are being published here in the shape of a small paper. Nothing will give me greater pleasure, if this paper of mine is found to stimulate other scholars; especially the young scholars of Bengal, to make further research in this field and settle beyond all doubt the identification of these kings and their territories.

1. 17 *Parakeva nankaspa* — "OI (one) designated Para

krama." Parākrama was a title of Samudragupta just as Vikrama was of his son Candragupta. The title Parakrama is met with on his coins of the Standard Type (Allan, pp. 20). He was also designated Vyāghra-parakrama, and Aśvamedha-parakrama, just as his son was Śiṃha-vikrama and Ajita-vikrama.

Lines 19-20 specify the names of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpātha whom he vanquished before he died. They are as follows :—

1. Mahendra of Kośala. This Kośala must be Dakṣiṇa or South Kośala, one of whose early capitals was Śīpura, i. e. Sīpur in C. P. It was from this place that Tivradēva, who styled himself 'Supreme Lord of Kośala', issued a charter of circa 100 A. D. (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 296). The province then embraced the eastern and southern parts of the C. P. Nothing is known about Mahendra.

2. Vyāghra of Mahākāntara. Mahākāntara has to be distinguished from Sarvātva referred to (l. 21) later in the inscription. Vyāghraśa is almost certainly identical with Vyāghra, father of Jayanātha, of the Uccakulpa dynasty. The date for the latter is 174 (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 190), which, when referred to the Kollachuri era (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 227, f) as is the case with the dates of the Uccakulpa family, gives us the English equivalent 123 A. D. Jayanātha thus becomes a contemporary of Candragupta II. Jayanātha's father, Vyāghra, thus becomes a contemporary of Candragupta II's father, Samudragupta. He was doubtless a feudatory of the Vākātaka king, Prthivīśara, and his principality consisted of parts of the Jaso and Ajaijark States in Bund Ikhand, as appears from the find-spots of his records (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 231, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 13).

3. Maṇḍaraja of Kurula. This Kurula is taken by Kielhorn to be the same as Kunāla, mentioned in the Aihole inscription, as having been reduced by Pulakeśin II of the Cālukya family (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 3 & n. 3). And both have been identified by him with the well-known Kolleru lake between the Godāvari

and Kṛṣṇa. This does not, however, appear to be probable as the Kolleru Lake must have been included in the kingdom of Vengi mentioned below. Kaurālaka is perhaps a mistake for Kairālaka, as Fleet suggests. In that case, this Kerala may be the province round about Yayātinagara where the author of the *Pacanaḍāta* locates the Keralas. Kerala may thus be the Sonpur territory in C. P. (*Aśoka*, p. 41). Dr. Barnett, however, identifies it with Korada (*Bull. School. Or. Stud.*, II, iii, p. 569). Nothing is known about Mañṭarāja.

There is some confusion about the division of the words that follow the name of Mañṭarāja. Fleet separates them as *Paṣṭapuraka-Mahendra* and *Giri-Kaṭṭuraka Svamidatta* and translates "Mahendra of Piṣṭapura, Svamidatta of Kottura on the hill". Fleet does so, because he thinks that Mahendragiri cannot be the name of a ruling chief as names ending in *giri* are now-a-days restricted to Gosains. But this proposal is inadmissible. The *epidhi* in Kaṭṭuraka clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. If *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svāmīdatta was, we should have had *Gairikaṭṭuraka* instead of *Girikaṭṭuraka*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb. Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 63) separates the words as follows *Paṣṭapuraka, Mahendragirika, Aṭṭuraka* and Svamidatta. Svamidatta was thus the ruler of Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri and Aṭṭura. This also is inadmissible, because Mahendragiri is the name of a mountain range, and not of a country. Again, we should have had *Mahendragirika* instead of *Mahendragirika*. The best proposal for the separation of words is that made by V. A. Smith who divides the words as *Paṣṭapuraka-Mahendragiri* and *Kaṭṭuraka-Svāmīdatta*.

4. Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura. Piṣṭapura is the same as the fortress of Piṣṭapura captured by the Calukya king Pulakeśin II, and is the modern Pithāpuram in the Godāvāri District of the Madras Presidency (*EL*, VI, 2-3). No record of Mahendragiri has been found.

5. Svāmīdatta of Kottūra, as Dr. Fleet says, is a very common Dravidian place name. He however identifies Kottūra of the inscription with Kottur = Pollaci in the Coimbatore District, where some ancient remains exist. The Coimbatore District also was noted for its commercial intercourse with the Roman merchants. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, takes it to be Kothoor in the Ganjam District.

6. Damana of Eraṇḍapalla. Fleet identifies Eraṇḍapalla with Eraṇḍol, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency (*JRAS.* 1898, pp. 369-70). According to M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, it is the same as the town Eraṇḍapali probably near Chicacole on the coast of Orissa mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 212).

7. Viṣṇugopa of Kañer. Kañer is undoubtedly the modern Conjeevaram in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. And Viṣṇugopa is no doubt identical with an early Pallava king of that name (*Bomb. Gazette*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 321).

8. Nīlarāja of Avamukta. Nothing is known about either.

9. Hastivarman of Veṅgi. "Veṅgi was a country on the east coast, of which the original boundaries appear to have been towards the west, the Eastern Ghats, and, on the north and south, the rivers Godāvari and Kṛṣṇa; an indication of the position of its original capital is probably preserved in the name of Vegi or Pedda-Vēgi, a village in the Ellore taluka of the Godāvari District" (*Bomb. Gazette*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 250). Hastivarman has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the family of king Kaudara, who also belonged to the Pallava race.

10. Ugrasena of Palakka. Pālakka kingdom has been identified by Smith (*JRAS.*, 1917, p. 573) with the division of Pālghāt or Pālakkādu in the south of the Malabar District. M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, identifies Pālakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the south of the

Kṛṣṇa and which is mentioned in many Pallava copper-plates (Venkayya's *Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 47).

11. Kubera of Devarāṣṭra. Smith takes Devarāṣṭra to be identical with Mahārāṣṭra. But this is not correct. It must be identified with the province of Devarāṣṭra (= Yellamanchili tract) mentioned in a copper plate grant found in the District of Vizagapatam (*Arch. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1905-9, p. 123). Was Kubera father of Kubera-Nāga of the Nāga family, who was a queen of Candragupta II? (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 11).

12. Dhanujjaya of Kusasthāpura. Kusasthāpura is taken by Smith as a mistake for Kusasthāpura, name of the holy city of Dwarka. Kusasthāpura was the capital of Anura, i.e. Kathiāwar. This does not, however, seem likely. Dr. Barnett opines that it is probably Keradur, near Polur, in North Arcot (*Col. Review*, Feb. 19, 1, p. 23, n.).

The kings of Āryāvarta destroyed by Samudragupta are nine in number, and it has been suggested by Rapson that possibly, they may all have been Nāgas and denote the *Nāga-Nagah* of the *T'ien P.*, not as a dynasty of nine members as they are generally taken to be, but rather a confederation of nine princes belonging to the Nāga race (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 121).

1. Rudradeva. Mr. Dikshī identifies him with Rudrasena of the Vakātaka dynasty. This seems improbable, as the Vakātakas belonged to Dākṣiṇāpatha, and not Āryāvarta.

2. Matila. It has been suggested that Matila may be identical with the Matila of the seal found in Bulandshahr, but the absence of any honorific on the latter suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage" —Allan, p. xxiii.

3. Nāgadatta. Unidentified.

4. Candravarman. Smith (*JRAS.*, 1897, p. 876) at first correctly proposed that this Candravarman was the Mahārāja of that name whose name is preserved in a rock inscription at Susunia in the Bankura District of Bengal (*Ep.*

Ind., XIII, 133). Candravarman is then called 'lord of Puskarana'. He, however, gave up this view (*E. H. I.*, 3rd ed., p. 290, n. 1) and maintained with Mr. H. P. Sastri that the Puskarana of the Sasanica record was the same as Pokarna in Marwar and that Candravarman was identical with the sovereign king Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar Inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 217 & ff.). This does not, however, seem correct. Because the title borne by a overlord of this period was *Maharajadhiraja*, whereas Candravarman like his father was merely a Maharaja. Mr. Sastri maintains that Simhavarman was a chieftain but that his son Candravarman a supreme ruler, although both are designated Maharajas. This is impossible, and what appears to be the fact is that both father and son were feudatory chieftains. Besides, Puskarana of the Sasanica inscription can easily run into *Bak'araga* and seem to have survived in the modern Bankura. It is therefore more correct to say that this Candravarman was a chief of Bankura and was identical with Candravarman, contemporary of Samudragupta.

5. Gajapati Naga. He is no doubt the same as Gajapati of the Naga family whose coins have been found at Narwar and Besnagar. He is generally supposed to pertain to the Naga family of Palnava or Pawaya in the Gwalior territory (Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 461 & 478-9), but as Nagasena below, also, belonged to the same family as we know from the *Harsacarita*, it is safer to take Gajapati as a king of perhaps Vidisa House, whose existence is attested by the Puranas.

6. Nagasena. Hall [*Ind. P.*, ed. Wilson, vol. IV, p. 217 fn.] was the first to draw our attention in this connection to a passage in the *Harsacarita* (trans. Gargell & Thomas, p. 192), which says that there was one Nagasena¹

1. In their translation of the *Harsacarita* Gargell & Thomas say that Nagasena was attached to the king but not a king, but this is not warranted by the text.

in Padmavati belonging to the Nāga House, whose fall was caused by the disclosure of his policy by a *sārikā* bird.

7. Aeyuta. Some copper and bronze coins, bearing the syllables *a eya* and found in the Bareilly District of U. P., were first attributed by Smith and Rapson to the king Aeyuta of this inscription (*JRAS*, 1897, pp. 28 & 420). In their general character they resemble the coins of the Nāga kings of Padmāvati, and it is possible that Aeyuta may himself have been a Naga but belonging to the Naga House of Mathurā, which the Purāṇas mention side by side with that of Padmavati.

8. Nandin. Nothing is known.

9. Balavarman. According to Mr. Dikshīt, he is most probably identical with Balavarman, an ancestor of Bhaskaravarman of Assam (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 73-6). But Assam or Kāmarūpa has been separated from Āryāvarta by this epigraph. Hence Balavarman of Āryāvarta cannot be a ruler of Kāmarūpa.

10. Ālavikaraja. One copper-plate (*Gupta Inscri.*, p. 114) describes a Parivrajaka king, Hastin, as master of the Dabhāla kingdom which was included in the Eighteen Forest Kingdoms (*Atavrajya*). Dabhāla must be the older form of Dahala, the modern Bundelkhand. The Ālavī country, which comprised no less than eighteen kingdoms, must have extended from Baghelkhand right up almost to the sea-coast of Orissa (*Aśoka*, pp. 43-5).

The frontier kings, tribes and territories were as follows :—

1. Samatāṭa. Varahamihira places Samatāṭa in the Eastern Division, and Hsuen Tsiang, to the east of the Tāmralipti country and bordering on the sea. It is taken as comprising the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, of which the Jessore District forms the central portion. Its capital Karmānta has been identified with Kāmtā in the Comilla District by Mr. N. Bhattasali (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1914, pp. 85ff.).

2. Davāka. Fleet suggests that Davāka may be another

form of Dacca. According to Smith it corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi. But it appears from the Damodarpar copper plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 113 ff.) that Pundravardhana country or Varendra was actually incorporated with the Gupta dominions and not held by any feudatory. Davaka more probably corresponds to the Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Tipperah.

3. Kāmarūpa. It corresponds in the main to the modern Assam, the central portion of which is still known as Kamrup.

4. Nepāla. Well known.

5. Kartapura. Dr. Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartarpur in the Jalandhar district. Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham refers to the Katuria Raj of Kugaon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand (*JR* 18, 1895, p. 198).

6. Mālavas. They were originally the same as the Malloi of the Greek writers and the Malavas, the Mleccha people, who, according to the *Mahābhārata*, fought against the Māurya Candragupta. They appear to have migrated southwards afterwards, and were in occupation of a province called Vagarehal in the south-eastern portion of the Jaipur State, where their coins were found in number. As these coins range approximately from b. c. 100 to 250 A. D., they seem to have been settled in that province during that period (*Cornwallis Lectures*, 1921, pp. 123). In the Gupta period, however, they seem to have migrated still farther southward. This is inferred by the find spots of the inscriptions of the period. At this time, they appear to have occupied Mewar and Kotah of south-eastern Rajputana and the parts of Central India adjoining them (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 104).

7. Arjunāyanas. Their coins are by no means unknown but as their provenance has not been notified, it is difficult to locate them exactly. They are believed to have been settled between the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. They may have thus occupied the eastern part of the Jaipur and the Alwar State.

8. Yaudheyas. From the find-spots of their coins, seals and inscriptions, they have been located between the Sutlej and the Jumna, their political rule extending as far southward as and including the Bharatpur State (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 165-7 ; 1918, pp. 11-2 ; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 252).

9. Madrakas. Their country corresponds roughly to modern Sialkot and surrounding regions between the Ravi and Chenab rivers. Its capital was Śākala which has been identified with Sialkot. (For an illuminating paper on *Madraka* by H. C. Ray, see *JASB*, 1922, p. 257 & ff.). The Madrakas were originally known as Madras and denoted, a people, and not a tribe as seems to be the case here. The latter were probably the Jartikas or Jats who are described as Mlecchas in the *Kācchapa-Purāṇa* (Chs. xl & xlv) of the Mahabharata.

10. Ābhīras. They seem to have been correctly located by Smith in the province of Abhīraja between the Parvati and the Betwa in Central India.

11. Prārjūnas. Smith locates them in the Narsinghpur District of C. P. It is safer to put them somewhere near Narsingharh in C. I., as the identification of Sanakāmka will show.

12. Sanakanikas. A Chief of the Sanakāmka tribe or family has been mentioned as a feudatory of Candragupta II in an Udayagiri cave inscription near Besnagar, the old Vidiśā. The inscription gives three generations of this family, who were all Maharājas or Chiefs. The Sanakanikas, therefore, appear to have held the province of Vidiśā. The first of these Sanakanikas was known as Chagadaga, which looks like a foreign name.

13. Kāla. Nothing known.

14. Kharaparika. Probably identical with Kharpara mentioned in the Baṭībāgarh Inscription of the Damoh Dist., C. P. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 46, v. 5). Kharparas according to this record are evidently to be located in that district.

Daivaputra-shāhi-shāhānushāhi. I take this to be one single compound title, designating some Later Great Kushana king. Fleet, Smith and Allan split it up into three different titles denoting three different princes. It is, however, forgotten that the initial word is not *Devaputra* but *Daivaputra*, a *taddhita* form, which shows that the term cannot stand by itself but must be taken along with what follows (*JBBRAS*, vol. XX, p. 299, n. 78). If this is a correct view, Daivaputra had better be taken along not only with Shāhi but also Shāhānushāhi, so as to make the whole correspondent with the full royal insignia *Devaputra Mahārāja Rajātirāja*, not only of the eastern Imperial Kushana family but also of the Later Great Kushanas, or Kusānaputras as they called themselves. Thus in an inscription found near Mathura (*Arch. Surv. Ind., Al. Rep.*, 1911-12, p. 124), the Kusānaputra king therein referred to bears the titles Mahārāja rajātirāja Devaputra. They exercised sway not only over the Kabul Valley but also over the Punjab and the Mathura regions, and it is quite possible that some of the frontier tribes mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription owed allegiance as much to the Kusānaputras as to the Guptas.

It is no use relying upon a vague Chinese authority and saying that Devaputra denoted a king of India or rather the Punjab. There is neither an inscription nor a coin to show that there was any king who adopted the single title of Devaputra without the addition of Shāhi and Shāhānushāhi or their Indian equivalents. Of course, the Kidāra Kushanas did assume the title Shāhi, but they flourished later than the period of Samudragupta. And as regards *Shahānushahi* there is no evidence to prove that the title was borne in or near India by any kings other than those of the Kushana families. Between the Kidāra Kushanas and the earlier Imperial Kushanas flourished the Later Great Kushanas as they have been styled by numismatists, who as just pointed out seem to be no other than the Kusānaputras of the inscriptions.

Śaka. This racial name *Śaka* has been taken to refer to the Western Kṣatrapas of Kāthiawād and Malwa. But there is nothing to show that the last Kṣatrapas of this dynasty ruled over Malwa at all. On the other hand, Sir John Marshall has recently found an inscription at Sāñci (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 232; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1923, p. 337 & ii) which refers itself to the victorious reign of a Śaka ruler called Śrīdharavarman though he has been designated merely *Maha-Dagdhānāgata*. It bears the date 241, which if referred to the Śaka era gives 319 A. D. as its equivalent. It is possible that this Śrīdharavarman or his successor is the Śaka king referred to in Samudragupta's inscription.

According to Allan (p. xxviii), the name Śaka is intended to designate particularly "those Śakas in the north who issued the coins of Kushan type with ARDONPO reverse, which formed the prototypes of Samudragupta's coinage." As a matter of fact, however, what occurs on these coins is not Śaka but Śāka (Smith, pp. 92-3), and further it is not possible to say that Śāka is the name of any race or tribe.

Murunda. On the strength of the evidence collected by Sylvain Lévi from Brahmanic, Jaina, and Chinese sources, Allan concludes that the Murundas were of foreign origin and had a powerful kingdom in the greater part of the Ganges Valley in the early centuries of the Christian era (p. xxix). Stein Konow goes one step further, and says that these Murundas "were in reality the Kushanas, and the word *Murunda* itself is not the name of a tribe, but a Śaka word meaning 'lord', which was used as a title by the Śakas and after them by the Kushanas." (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIV, pp. 292-3).

Sinhala. An account of the embassy of this Ceylon king has been preserved by the Chinese authorities which say that he "sent gifts to Samudragupta with a request to be allowed to build a monastery at Bodhi Gaya for the convenience of pilgrims from Ceylon." This request, we are told, was duly granted.

D. R. Bhandarkar

Subandhu, an ancient writer on Dramaturgy

The hemistich¹ in *Vaṃśa*² *Kāvya-lankārasūtras* quoted to illustrate Ojas had been until recently taken to refer to the Gupta kings Candragupta and his son Samudragupta and to the famous Buddhist divine Vasubandhu. It has been proved in an article entitled 'Subandhu or Vasubandhu,' a glimpse into the literary history of the Maurya period³ that the passage in the *Kāvya-lankāra* does not refer to the Gupta period or to Vasubandhu. It should have been taken from the introduction, *Prastāvana* of a now forgotten early drama *Vasavadatta Nāṭyadhara* by Subandhu, a poet who lived in the Court of the Maurya sovereign Bindu-sara, the son and successor of Candragupta and who also served him as Minister. A reference to him in the *Avantisundarikātha* seems to say that Subandhu was at first imprisoned by Bindu-sara, and later on released after his binding to himself his sovereign's heart by writing the story of *Vatsarāja*. Several extracts from this *Vasavadatta* have been traced in the famous Commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Abhinavagupta. From all these it is proved that even so early as the period of the Maurya Emperors Candragupta and Bindu-sara, Sanskrit drama was in a very highly developed stage and ministers were engaged not only in writing dramas but also in taking part in their representation.

This early Subandhu, the Minister of Bindu-sara, is proved to be different from his namesake, the author of the extant

1. *Saṃpratyam yathā*—

so'yaṃ samprati Candraguptaśaṭaḥ sa Candraguptaśaṭaḥ,

jāto Bhupatiraśrayaḥ kṛtadhīyaḥ diptatātathāśramāḥ

aśrayaḥ kṛtadhīyaḥ kṛtadhīyaḥ Subandhuśaṭaḥ sa pakṣapaparatayaḥ

saṃpratyam,

2. Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference 1922, Calcutta, report 1924. Additions and texts in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1924.

prose romance of that name, which appears to have been written during the period of the decline of the Gupta Empire. Sanskrit literature recently unearthed contains some more references to an author called Subandhu which are brought before scholars here. The author that has these references is Śaradatanaya, the author of *Bhāvacarakaśa*, a work of Sanskrit rhetoric and dramaturgy, written about the 12th or the 13th century. The particular reference is here given. It occurs in the eighth adhikāra of the work. It says that Subandhu enumerates 5 kinds (Jatis) of Nāṭakas, Pūrṇa, Prāśānta, Bhāsyara, Lalita, and Samagra, defines their qualities, and gives examples of each of them. He gives the name Kṛtṃyāraṇa, as that of a Pūrṇa Nāṭaka. He then defines a Prāśānta Nāṭaka and says that a drama called Śvapnavāsavadatta is an example of this and also lets us a little into the story and plot of this early drama. He then passes on to the third variety of Nāṭaka called Bhāsyara and gives its five *śūlhis*. He refers to a drama in which Maricha and Rāvaṇa are characters, and another in which Candragupta and Nanda are characters. The crossing of the sea by the monkey heroes, the binding of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by the Nāgaśai and and the testing (*parikṣa*) of Sita are also referred to. The title of this latter drama is not given. A drama called Kṛtṃyāraṇa is referred to in several early works on Dramaturgy. It cannot be said whether the present is also another reference to this early drama. The next variety is called Lalita. In giving examples of this variety of drama he refers to Vikramorvaśi, a drama in which Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā are characters and where their separation is dealt with, and another which deals with Śarmiṣṭhā and Vṛṣaparvan. He then deals with his fifth variety of drama called Samagra and gives the Mahānāṭaka as an example.

From the nature of the information given in the *Bhāvacarakaśa*¹ (adhikāra viii) of Śaradatanaya the date of Subandhu,

1 The manuscript is deposited in the Government Oriental Manus-

the author of this *Nāṭaka-lakṣmaṇa*, cannot be decided. Of the dramas enumerated as examples of the several varieties of *Nāṭaka* according to the classification contained in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* only *Vikramorvasi* seems to be available completely. The *Svapnavasavadatta* seems to refer to the drama published under that name in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. But the variations between the description of the dramas as given in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and the Trivandrum play seem to demonstrate that the Trivandrum drama is not the whole of it, but only an abridgement of it. The original drama might have been the work of Bhasa but the abridgement is decidedly later¹. The dramas published at Trivandrum under the name of Bhasa cannot all of them belong to him. The *Svapnavasavadatta* appears to be an abridgement of Bhasa's drama, just as the *Dandineerudatta* of Śūdraka's (i. e. Vikramaditya's²) autobiographical drama *Mrechakatika*. Other dramas published under the authorship of Bhasa appear similarly to be abridgements of other dramas. The occurrence of the term *Rājasinpha* at the end of several of these seems to point that these dramas were abridged in the Court of a king called *Rājasinpha*. Several dramas like the *Mattavilasa*³ produced in the Pallava Court

cripts Library, Madras. It is hoped that this valuable work will soon be published by His Holiness, Srivathsa of Melattur, near Srirangam. A. Arunacharya of the Mysore Archaeological Department has been also publishing the names of some of the Rhetors. Some chapters of *Bhāva*, the first portion of which will appear in the

1. The present writer has discussed this question at length in the paper on *Bhāsa* and *Dandin* in the *Journal of the Pallava period*, *Journal of the Myth. Socy. Bangalore* Vol. XIII, pp. 970-980.

2. The present writer has also discussed the identity of the author of 'The founder of the Vikrama Era' in his paper on the 'History of the Andhra period', *Myth. Socy. Journ.* Vol. XII, pp. 267-282; Vol. XIII, pp. 506-510.

3. The early Sanskrit playhouse *Bhāga-adajñanam* which was recently published by Dr. Banaja Sastri in the *Journal of Belur and*

contains peculiarities that are observed in these dramas. It does not appear unwarranted to say that the dramas discovered at Malabar and attributed to Bhāsa by Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri should have been abridged in the Court of the Pallava sovereign Rajasimha. Malabar has preserved many ancient customs and usages that prevailed long ago in South India. It preserved for us many forgotten works like the Arthaśāstra and its commentaries, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra, Bhamaha's Alampāra and Śaṅkarācārya's commentary on the Yoga Sūtras. Similarly it seems to have preserved these Pallava abridgments of early dramas, several of which are acted in the orthodox Kerala stage even today.

From the nature of the account in the *śloka-prakāśa* of Subandhu's work on dramaturgy, Subandhu's date cannot be determined. There is nothing to say whether he is the same as the Mauryan Minister or the Author of the prose romance Vāsavadatta. The latter appears from various references in his work to belong to the period of the decline of the political power of the Guptas.

A. RANGASWAMI SĀRASVATĪ

Our text is mentioned in the Mamandur inscription of the Pallava king who mentions this drama as well as the Mattavilāsa. The Mattavilāsa is a prahelāya written by the king to ridicule the Jains and Buddhists. The Bhagavadajjukam is mentioned in the line preceding the one where the Mattavilāsa is mentioned. But the connection in which it is mentioned is not evident as the inscription is damaged. It might have mentioned that Mahendravarman, whose literary achievements the inscription details, wrote the Bhagavadajjuka just as he wrote the Mattavilāsa. Or it might have said that Mahendravarman wrote his Mattavilāsa on the model of the early drama Bhagavadajjukam. One of the manuscripts of the work discovered contains a verse at the beginning which says that its author's name was Bodhayana. A commentary of the drama that has also been discovered says that the name of the author of the drama was Bodhayana.

Hindu Theory Of Property

In Sanskrit vocabulary property is subsumed under the word "artha", a generic term deep as well as wide, standing as the second among the four categories of human life, viz. dharma (righteousness), artha (wealth), kāma (fulfilment of desire), and mokṣa (salvation). A long process of gradual crystallisation brought into it all the various meanings which became attached to it in course of time. This may easily be referred backwards to the different periods of growth, but here they are alluded to merely in an introductory fashion without any philosophic emphasis. The Lexicographer Amara of c. 300 A. D. gives the following meanings of *artha* which disclose the development of the concept stage by stage. Relevant synonyms mentioned in his work are—a thing, need, purpose, earning, wealth, property¹. And all these words show a close connection between the underlying ideas, which is clearly revealed by an analysis of them. Thus a thing is the material form of a need which it somehow satisfies. A purpose is the psychological side of it, and earning is exchange for property and need, while wealth is accumulated property in the most convenient shape. In the dictionary of synonyms, no explanation can be expected for the terms, yet it shows the precipitation of the ideas already highly advanced and mature at the time of the dictionary-maker. In about 300 B. C. and long before Amara, Kauṭilya technically defined "artha" as "the subsistence of mankind" and even "the earth which contains mankind is also termed "artha"².

1. Amarakoṣa, pp. 242, 325, Colebrooke's edition.

2. Arthashastra, p. 515. Mill has fully endorsed it in his query: "But is there nothing, recognised as property except what has been produced (by labour)? Is there not the earth itself, its forest, and waters, and all the natural riches above and below the surface?" The

PSYCHOLOGY OF PROPERTY

The mental side of property desires to be treated before its political side not only because of its naturally earlier genesis but also for the fact that a better understanding of its rise and growth calls for it. For purely psychological analysis and ethical vision, the *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* supplies the earliest thought on the subject, and the basis for ritualistic morality as in *Manu* and the *Mahābhārata*. The moral responsibility of possessions is a never-ending theme with the Hindu moralist, but nowhere else is found the exact reason why property is desired in its widest sense. Says the *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka* —

“Therefore in the present time people living alone desire thus ... ‘May I gain wealth to do my works (possibly sacrificial rites). Having desired thus he thinks ‘I am incomplete’. So long as he does not obtain the desired object, Man naturally striving for self-completion and failing to secure the objects of his will considers him-self incomplete and then complete on gaining them”¹.

It also gives the relation between the self and property (*vittaṃ*) including cows etc. as — “His (man's) self is the nave and his property (even as cows etc.) is of the nature of the circumference of the wheel”², signifying thereby the supplementary yet intimate connection between the two. This figure of speech is too common in Hindu thought and it points to a unity of parts, which though strictly inapplicable to this case yet shows the importance of property to the self for expressing itself.

Such an analysis as the above of the oldest of the *Upaniṣads* is quite in keeping with modern psychology viz.

are inheritances of the human race” (*Prin. of Pol. Econ.*, p. 480). Śukra speaks of “the earth as the source of all wealth” (*Śukra-Nīti*, p. 23).

1. 4th *Brahmaṇya*, 17.

2. 5th *Brahmaṇya*, 15.

that property completes the will. In other words it is some form of self-completion whether it is collected wealth or daily earning as means to acquire property. In this sense property is said to be "objectified will"¹ and here the Hindu psychology already quoted is sound and very modern in its outlook. It explains wealth whether it is possession or property as the expression of the will or of the instinct of acquisition.

In Hegelian language the idea of the Upaniṣad quoted above signifies in a roughly compressed way that "since our *wants* are looked upon as primary, the possession of property appears at first to be a means to their *satisfaction* but it is really the first embodiment of freedom and an independent end. A person must give to his freedom an external sphere, in order that he may reach the *completeness* implied in the idea ... The reasonableness of property consists not simply in satisfying our needs but in its superseding and replacing the subjective phase of personality". Thus "property is the embodiment of the particular will"².

The Brhad-Āraṇyaka takes the naked self only or "the individual as considered in his first abstract simplicity and hence with reference only to those features of personality with which he is directly endowed and not to those which he might proceed to acquire by voluntary effort"³. And then when it shows the relation of the self to property it lays down the true principle that property is the self expanded just as the circumference is mathematically the extension of the centre on all sides.

RISE OF PROPERTY

The origin of property as an institution is a political question. It is in reality an index to the social stage in which it appears, just as has been suggested in the Maha-

1 Bosanquet's Phil. Theor. of the State, p. 246.

2 Hegel, Phil. of Right, Dyde's Translation, pp. 48, 49, 50.

3 Adapted from Hegel's Phil. of Right, Dyde's Translation, p. 52.

bhārata¹. Political thought characterises it first as mere possession indicating its crude form before the birth of the state and as property proper when state-laws come into operation. This may be designated pre-state and post-state property according to Gierke² or as mere possession unregulated by law and regular property as a political institution in Rousseau's view³. The purely natural or industrial stage of property is represented in Manu and its social and political stage in the Mahābhārata, but both influenced more or less by the Buddhist traditions.

A few words in passing are necessary here before entering upon a discussion of the origin and nature of property. The whole question is finally one of rights and how such rights can arise. Ritchie has admirably put it in the most expressive form in his "Natural Rights". He is of opinion that "the attempt to base the right of property on the Law of Nature takes two principal forms: in both of these we see the influence of that sense of "nature" in which the *natural* means what is least affected by human institutions. There is the theory which bases property on *occupation*, and there is the theory which bases it on *labour*"⁴. Grotius is an example of the first and Locke of the second just in the same Indian way as the Buddhist idea and that of Manu. But labour and occupation are the two poles of property ultimately merging into one, for occupation itself is a form of labour, implicitly assumed in all theories but explicitly explained by George. As against Grotius and in support of Locke, George argued that "the right of property, since it originates in the right of the individual to himself, attaches only to things produced by labour but cannot attach to

1. Mahābhārata, Rājadharmasūtrasana Parva, p. 973.

2. Pol. Theo. of the Mid. Age, p. 50.

3. Social Contract, p. 19, Cole's edition.

4. Natural Rights, p. 226.

things created by God¹. For Grotius "all acquisition by labour" is occupation because all property is made out of pre-existing matter². The Buddhist account takes no notice of the element of labour involved in property, which is of course fundamental in Manu. Such a position naturally ushered in the Trust theory of a property as a distinct and highly significant contribution.

(a) The Buddhist tradition, which is probably chronologically earlier but has a later colouring, traces property back to that state of nature in which everything was common to all being used according to needs. Proprietary demarcation was the effect of the selfishness of individuals who tried to appropriate more than his share as provision for the future. Thus it is related that :—

"If these beings (primitive men) wanted rice to eat in the evening or in the morning, they would go and get what is requisite, but it happened that one being who was of an indolent disposition took at one time enough rice for evening and morning. Now another being said to him, "come let us go for rice." Then he answered him, "look after your own rice, I have taken enough at one time to last me morning and evening". Then the other thought, "Good capital! I will take enough rice for two, three, seven days" and he did accordingly. Then it happened that some one said to this person "come let us go for rice" but he answered him, "Look after your own rice ;

1 Condition of labour, p. 35

2 Natural Rights, p. 268. It is interesting to note that Śakra does not recognise occupation or possession as a source of right. "A man is not the owner of property because it is held by him. If it not found in the case of thieves that somebody's property is being held by somebody else? Śakra-Nīti, p. 216. To answer Śakra the view of Manu and Locke has to be adopted.

I have taken enough at one time to last me two, three, seven days". "Good capital ! thought the other. I will take enough rice for a fortnight, for a month ;" and he did accordingly.

And because these beings took to laying up provisions of this spontaneously growing rice, it became coarse : a husk enveloped the grain, and when it had been cut it grew not up again, but remained as it had been left. Then these beings assembled together in sorrow and said, "Let us now draw lines of demarcation and establish boundaries between each one's property" (portion). And so they drew lines of demarcation and set up bounds "This is mine this is thine," (They said). Now this is the first appearance in the world of a system of boundary lines and this (boundary) is right or not right according to the king's decision for he is the Lord of the Law."¹

It is to be noted that the necessity for political society is seen in the rise of property according to the Buddhist view which is more comprehensive and better connected than Manu's treatment given below. Regulation of property and the assignment of rights introduced an assessor who is the first political head. The rudiments of proprietary right are also indicated though not so pointedly as in Manu.

(b) Manu gives the essentially individualistic conception of property in its most primitive or merely labour-produced form when the state had no existence nor even society of any kind other than the presumably nomadic. It seems Manu goes back in substance to a stage earlier than that pictured in the Buddhist record. He does not speak of any conflict with other individuals or any consequent pressure for regulating property and right, but only defines condition of the right to property which appears to be intuitive i. e. natural. Such

¹ Rockhill's Buddha, pp. 5-6.

right is based on industry or labour becoming proprietary at once, or in the language of Locke "labour was to be the title to it". Manu has declared :

"According to ancient authorities the land belongs to him who first cleared it of forests and a deer to him who pierced it first with his arrow."¹

The Hindu legislator has not mentioned the names of the authorities he was following but it is clear that there was this old tradition in his time. It is in keeping with Locke's treatment of the same subject. These lines from the English philosopher are parallel to Manu in thought and language :

"As much land as a man tills, improves, cultivates, and can use the products of, so much is his. Thus the law of reason makes the deer that (American) Indian's who hath killed it".²

But later on Locke deals with property just in the same way as Buddhist account has done above. The principles involved are the same, for he went on to say that :

"This is certain that in the beginning, before the desire of having more than man needed had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depended only on their usefulness to the life of man.....though men had a right to appropriate by their labour, each one to himself, as much of the things of nature as he could use, yet this could not be much nor to the prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left to those who would use the same industry.....The increase of land and the right employing of them is the great art of government."³

(c) The maintenance of property or proprietary rights is an advanced question untouched by Manu but only hinted by

1 Manusmṛiti, IX, 11.

2 Civil Government, Cassell's edition, pp. 24, 25.

3 Ibid., pp. 29, 31.

the Buddhist record. Nowhere is the need for the state is more urgently felt than in the sphere of rights and claims. In a sense the state is for these and these are born with the state. Even in the Vedic time a king was needed to assign rightful portions presumably through state actions. The elected king is expected to do it as his duty. In the electing hymn the Atharva Veda says—"Be seated on this summit of the body politic and from there vigorously distribute the natural wealth"¹. In the justice of the state is seen to lie the germ of private and personal property though it is no theory in the Vedas. The Mahābhārata concerns itself with this problem of rights and draws a distinction between *mineness* (ownership) of two kinds external and internal and defines it as "consciousness that it is my property, my son etc"². Evidently the one is proprietary consciousness of right and the other is the enjoyment of property acquired. The point here is how could these be possible? Undoubtedly these involve "possession" and "protection" of property for the keeping up of right, and such enjoyment and security of property can be assured only by the state through its coercive power of "danda" i. e. restraint and punishment. It is in line with Rousseau's argument that in the state of nature there is but "possession which is merely the effect of force or right of the first occupant", and "not property which can be founded only on a positive title" as in civil society³. Thus property as the most important instrument of the family which is the political unit becomes in the Epic the primary product of the state and the chief factor in consolidated society. It is worth noticing that the Mahābhārata everywhere puts property in conjunction with wife and children indicating thereby the whole apparatus of family life. From this point of view Bosanquet has called property "a corollary of the household family"⁴.

1 Atharva Veda, III, 4, 2. Vide Note infra, pp. 278-9

2 Rājadharmasūtra Parva, xiii, p. 950.

3 Social Contract, p. 19, Cole's edition.

4 Vide Bosanquet's Phil. Theo. of the State, p. 281.

In anarchy or the non-state condition "none can have any (sense of) 'mine-ness' (i. e. claim) to anything", "none can live in possession of food and things", "none can safely enjoy wealth and wife" (family life)¹. This socioplastic chaos is not civil society but the state of nature. Here anybody can have anything. Any two combine to take the property of one and many combine to take it from the first two. "Like the fish in shallow water and the birds in a sequestered place, enjoyment is under envy according to sweet will"². Hence as shown by Prof. Sarkar "property does not exist in the non-state (condition of the logic of the fish - *Mātsya-nyaya*). Property however is not mere *bhoga* i. e. mine-ness or ownership, Property (*bhoga*, enjoyment plus *netmata*, ownership) is the differentium between the non-state and the state³. Necessarily the Mahābhārata has declared that "acquiring wealth and taking to a wife must be done under the shelter of the king"⁴. For men can spend their days only by taking the shelter of the all-fruitioning king⁵. This is practically equal to saying that the highest security and development of the accessories to life are obtained in the state, since it not only preserves but creates right which comes into being with its own life. But the Epic recognized that there can be no right to fruits without sowing of seeds⁶, which is in short labour-produced title. Kautilya speaks of activity (labour) being the root of all wealth⁷.

(d) The Trust doctrine regarding property evidently avoids the difficulty of initial proprietary rights and being necessarily in intimate connection with religious ideas, concerns itself rather solely with the object of acquiring it. In fact the question of right does not arise at all when everything is looked upon

1. Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, lxvii, lxviii, pp. 984, 985.

2. Ibid., pp. 984, 985.

3. Pol. Theories and Institutes of the Hindus, p. 204.

4. Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, lvii, p. 978. 5. Ibid., lxxvi, p. 990.

6. Aśvamedha Parva, p. 1310.

7. Arthaśāstra, p. 44.

as the gift of god. It is also a natural intuition consequent on man's experience of the world and of himself. The Hindu conception of the material world agrees with the Christian idea¹ in accepting it as the bounty of the Maker. The Mahābhārata speaks of the purpose of creation:

“For the enjoyment of all beings this whole world of moving life and inert matter has been created by his (God's) power”².

But to the question of man's use of the world and all the things found in it there is only one answer throughout the Hindu Śāstras. The individualistic idea has been carefully shut out so that no selfish end might be read in the object of creation. While the Vedas pray for “riches turned to worthy ends” and “wealth that directs both worlds”³, the Epic states that “wealth has been created for sacrifices (yajña) and man has been appointed the trustee for it”⁴. And “wealth is the means to dharma (righteousness)”⁵. This wealth and righteousness (artha and dharma) are inter-related, the former being under the latter. Their combination is sweet and beautiful like that of honey and nectar⁶. The Mahābhārata further enjoins that “wealth above one's need must be given to the poor”⁷. Manu distinguishes between “godly wealth” and “demonical wealth” according to their use⁸, which in fact serves for a supplementary commentary on the parable of the talents⁹. It is like Prof. Hobhouse's division between “property for use” and “property for power” in his “Property, its Duties and Rights”¹⁰. In fact Manu's object for earning consists in “supporting relatives, performing

1 Gen. I, 28. Eccl. XVII, 1-11. 2 Anuśāsana Parva, xiv, p. 1199.

3 Bṛ. Veda, I, 141.

4 Rājadharmamuśāsana, xx, p. 954.

5 Rājadharmamuśāsana Parva, viii, p. 147.

6 Āpaddharma Parva, clxvii, p. 1049.

7 Mokṣadharmaparva, clxix, p. 1105.

8 Manu, XI, xx, p. 658.

9 Matt. 25 : 15ff.

10 Quoted in Hodgkin's Christ. Revol., p. 221.

religious rites and saving the body from hunger and nudity"¹. Again "a man desiring happiness must not earn more than his need, viz. for maintaining himself and his family and doing religious works, for contentment is happiness and discontent is sorrow"².

In its deeper implication the trust theory of property stands next door to the Communism of Plato and More and necessarily reduces to the vanishing point all exclusiveness of the Aristotelian type for an expanding spiritual generalisation of everything acquired in this world by the energy and enterprise of man. The individual element in personal use of things gives place to a higher utility where others (gods and men implied in sacrificial rites) receive proper, if not greater, consideration. Thus it is said that "the whole world is based on Yajña (sacrificial rite)³ and apart from its orthodox and scriptural meaning, it has an undoubted social significance and a spiritual character; for "yajña and the world are reciprocally protective"⁴. This reminds one of Tawney's standard of personal property in his famous book the "Acquisitive Society", viz. what is "needed for proper service to the community"⁵. In the conception of Yajña as combined religion and service the radical Epic socialism declaring every body having equal claim to everything⁶ is superseded by a robust spiritual idealism which secures practically the same result but avoids the patent difficulties. Śukra, therefore, declares that "the world exists through Charity and Goodness"⁷. "Through wealth men get virtue, satisfaction and salvation⁸. Like Manu Śukra also insists on "enjoying wealth after giving away portions to the king, relatives, friends, servants, thieves and wife and sons"⁹. But Kauṭilya found "the

1 Manu IV, 3, p. 191.

2 Manu IV, 12, p. 194.

3 Mokṣadharmā Parva, clxviii, p. 1111.

4 Ibid., p. 1112.

5 Quoted in Hodgkin's *Christ. Revol.*, p. 221.

6 Aśvamedha P., p. 1331, vide supra p. 165. Authority II, p. 18.

7 Śukra Niti, p. 118.

8 Ibid., p. 264.

9 Ibid., p. 265.

world bound by wealth"¹ and "wealth, the means to virtue and enjoyment"². Here is a combination of the social and individual elements implied in the responsibility of possessions. The whole argument may be summed up in the idea of the Epic that "by wealth can be controlled this world and the next, and truth and righteousness"³.

In fact Manu's pronouncement stands as a challenge to the world even to-day. The quantitative solution of socialism means equal distribution and nothing more, while Manu drives at a qualitative change in man's attitude to property. A. J. Penty says, "it was the problem of inducing men to obey the moral law in the sphere of economics, of preventing them from obtaining more than their share of property.....that led Socialists in the past to escape from the dilemma by demanding the abolition of all private property whatsoever. But experience is proving that.....(it) is to follow the line of maximum resistance"⁴. Tawney suggests that "if society is to be healthy, men must regard themselves not as the owners of rights, but as *trustees* for the discharge of functions and as instruments of social purpose. They will insist that property is moral and healthy when it is used as a condition and involves the discharge of definite personal obligations"⁵. And this is Dharma (righteousness) and Yajña (sacrifice) in the Hindu sense⁶.

In the conception of property as *trust* the Hindu thinkers reached—it must be admitted—very high degree of economic idealism which in depth and extent showed the most consummate synthesis of the spiritual and the material, transforming the latter at every step into means and instruments for the former. If the spirit is really spiritual the use of property

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 398.

2 Ibid., p. 394.

3 Śānti Parva, lxxx, p. 1023.

4 Towards a Christian Sociology, p. 150.

5 Acquisitive Society, pp. 28, 44.

6 Cf. Trivedi's Yajña Kathā.

becomes spiritual as well, or as Hegel puts it as giving a soul to property. To regard property as trust does therefore mean a great spiritual advance and is in fact impossible without it. The west in running to extremes in its theories about property has almost lost sight of this great principle—although it is learning it of late which holds together in their proper places in relation to rights both the individual and society in which he lives. It is the transmutation of individualism and socialism into something which is both without destroying either totally and for good. The details of the regulation of private property in individual life according to Hindu thought are impossible here, but it is sufficient to say that Hindu religious practice eminently succeeded in divesting the individual, through various rites and sacrifices up to the stage of sylvan retirement, of unnecessary, injurious and mischievous accumulation without any recourse to “death duties” or other forced regulations. Yet all was voluntary from the sense of spiritual duty and the self of man was not snatched away from him. The proper balance between *Vyasti* (the individual) and *Samasti* (the collection) was the aim of the Hindu religious economist; he could not logically sacrifice any one of these for the sake of the other and thus raise an outwardly easy yet impracticable theory. When a light sneer is passed on the all too religious strain of Hindu thought in every department of knowledge, its right import is often misunderstood and more often missed altogether. If anything is supposed to infuse the correct spirit into man’s use of this God-created world, adjusting all economic and social relations into a spiritual whole free from jarring and concussion, it must be religion after all, when it is liberated from its air-tight segregation and is allowed to flow into and become one with politics, economics and sociology. The solution of the property problem seems to lie in this direction. Western Christianity with its individualistic emphasis has apparently failed to realise what Hinduism tried to do through the institution of *Yajña* of many kinds down to the number-

less vratas or small ceremonies. Even in socialism itself the trust idea has a good and important part to play contributing to its very basis and goal.

(e) Laukika property, i. e., its legal aspect, is cited from *Mitākṣarā* and *Sarasvatī-Vilāsa* and other law books in Jolly's *Recht and Sitte*, p. 91. "And juridically speaking, the property taken cognizance of by the state is *laukika* i. e. worldly, material, or secular" is Prof. B. K. Sarkar's explanatory remark¹. As a legal institution it does not touch the theory proper, having no direct bearing on it. The difference between real and personal property involving the right to use, transfer, bequeath, sell and destroy any property is essentially a legal question. But its sacredness is preserved by the authority of the state under *danda* or punishment, or in other words through the operation of law. It is the state that gives validity, as shown by Prof. Sarkar² to the "seven modes of acquiring property" according to Manu (X, 115) and to its "three titles" according to Vasiṣṭha (XVI, 10) and other legal incidents³.

The net result of the institution of property in consolidating social and family life is as great and far-reaching as that of the very establishment of the state itself, though the former is subsidiary to and dependent on the latter⁴.

1. *Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus*, p. 208. The *Mīmāṃsā* view of property is the extreme *laukika* idea making it a mere convention. So "Vijñāneśvara following Prabhakara argues that Jaimini (IV, 1-3-6) was of opinion that property was essentially a matter of popular recognition" and such recognition is only convention (*Kieth's Karma Mīmāṃsa*, p. 101).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

3. Jolly, *Recht and Sitte*, pp. 90-92.

4. Baudhayana evidently takes the state to exist for the express purpose of protecting property and life and though he is not quite explicit his meaning is clear in his law-book where he speaks of the duty of the ruling caste, the Kṣatriyas, (I, 10, 18, 3 and 16, pp. 199 and 201, S. B. E. vol. XIV). The passages referred to run thus—

Following the *Mahābhārata* Prof. Sarkar has pointed out¹ that "two miraculous changes are effected in social life once private property is called into existence. First, people can sleep without anxiety 'with doors open'² and secondly, women decked with ornaments can walk without fear 'unattended by men'³. This is equal to the most comprehensive security to life and its necessary accessories which make life worth living in this world and gives a significant meaning to it.

J. N. C. GANGULY

"In the Kṣatriyas (God placed) strength.....(the privilege of using weapons and protecting the treasure and life of created beings for the growth of (good) government"

C1. Mill—

"However the assumption that government exists solely for the protection of property is not one to be deliberately adhered to.....that protection being required for person as well as property. The ends of government are as comprehensive as those of social union". (*Prin. of Pol. Econ.*, p. 485).

1 *Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus*, p. 209.

2 *Śānti Parva*, lxviii, 30, p. 985.

3 *Ibid.*, 32, p. 985.

The Vicitra Nāṭak

II

Date of Composition

The Sikh records generally refer to two different periods of literary activity in the career of Guru Govind Singh. The first was the period when the Guru is said to have lived in obscurity in the hills where 'he set himself to the task of self-improvement', and the most important of the modern writers say that it covered the first 20 years of Guru Govind Singh's pontificate¹, though we must state here that there is no evidence to support such a statement. During the second period the Guru was living in retirement at Damdama² where he secured a safe retreat after his final defeat at Chamkaur, having experienced, in the meantime, all the dangers and dramatic escapes of a fugitive under a hot chase. How long the Guru remained at Damdama we do not definitely know. Dr. Narang states that the Guru stopped there for about a year³ and Cunningham also practically says the same thing⁴. As the latter places the battle of Chamkaur in 1705-6⁵, the Guru's stay at Damdama could not have extended much more than one year for it is almost certain that he left the place about the beginning of 1707, as it was from Damdama that he was called to the south by the Emperor and he had not proceeded far on his journey when he came to know of Aurangzib's death which took place on the 3rd March, 1707⁶. But we must point out here that the battle of Chamkaur cannot be placed so late as 1705. The great siege of Anandpur

1 Cunningham, p. 67, see also fn. 2 ; Narang, pp. 74, 75 ; Irvine, p. 14.

2 Half-way between Hansi and Ferozepur ; Cunningham, p. 80 ; see also Irvine, p. 88, f. n.

3 Narang, p. 99.

4 Cunningham, p. 80.

5 Ibid., p. 79.

6 Irvine, p. 1.

took place about 1701 and as it was almost immediately followed by the battle of Chamkaur whither the allied army proceeded as soon as they came to detect that the Guru had fled, Govind's final defeat cannot be placed later than 1702. We are inclined to think therefore that the Guru's stay at Damdama was somewhat longer. It is stated in the *Sakhi Book* that the Guru stopped at Damdama for 'three years minus some months and days'¹, and it seems that at least on this point it is not far from truth. At any rate, the Guru's stay must have been sufficiently long to have enabled him to dictate to Bhai Muni Singh the whole of the *Granth Sahib* to which was added for the first time the hymns and slokas of his father with a sloka of his own, and to compose at least a part of the *Dasam Padsah ka Granth*².

To which of these periods are we to assign the composition of the *Vicitra Natak*? Opinion is almost equally divided. Cunningham and Narang say that the entire *Dasam Padsah ka Granth* was written when the Guru was living in retirement at Damdama³; Malcolm and Griffin would place the composition of the *Granth* near about 1696 and Rose in 1698⁴ while Macauliffe is of opinion that the *Vicitra Natak*, at least, was composed probably about 1692⁵. The question is thus one of great difficulty but I think that the position can be, to some extent, cleared if we begin by settling the chronology of the events narrated in the *Vicitra Natak* for it is likely to set a limit to the field of our enquiry by narrowing down the range of probability and enabling us to settle definitely at least a lower limit.

1 Sirdar Attar Singh's Translation, *Sakhi*, No. 59.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223.

3 Cunningham, p. 80; Narang, p. 99.

4 Malcolm, p. 186, f. n.; Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh*, p. 48; Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes compiled by Rose, vol. I, p. 690, f. n.

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 1. l. n.

Cunningham, Narang and Irvine place all these events after 1695. They all start with the assumption that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills and as he had ascended the gaddi of his father in 1675 his public career could not have commenced earlier than 1695. Cunningham adds that 'the period is nowhere definitely given by English or Indian writers ; but from a comparison of dates and circumstances, it seems probable that Govind did not take upon himself a new and special character as a teacher of men until about the thirty-fifth year or until the year 1695 of Christ¹. The learned author perhaps very naturally thought that it was not likely that the Guru had entered into military adventures before organising his followers into an efficient machine and so dated Guru Govind Singh's public career from 1695. But we do not understand why, with the unanimous testimony of the Sikh authorities before him, Dr. Narang commits the same mistake. Perhaps with the single exception of the authority quoted by Malcolm², the Sikh records are unanimous in placing the introduction of Guru Govind Singh's reforms in 1699³ and they all state that the actions narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* took place before that event. Indeed, there is one piece of negative evidence in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself which appears to us conclusive. In his description of the battles the Guru gives his followers their full meed of praise and many of them are individually mentioned. We are informed of the feats accomplished by Sri Shah, Nand Cand, Kripal, Dayaram, Maheri Cand, Singatia and others but nowhere does the common cognomen of Singh appear. This fact makes it certain that all these battles took place before the Khalsā came into existence.

Next, the Bilaspore *Banswara* supplies us with a very

1. Cunningham, p. 67, l. n. 2. 2. Malcolm, p. 186, l. n.

3. Panth Prakās, p. 183 ; Itihās Guru Khalsā, p. 325 ; Macauliffe, ch. v, p. 93 ; Suraj Prakās ac. quoted by S. Banerjee, p. 204.

important date. It is stated there that Raja Bhim Cand 'passed the closing years of life as a Fakir after abdicating in favour of his son Ajmer Cand, who became the 30th Raja in 1692 A. D.¹. Now, Raja Bhim Cand of Bilaspore figure most prominently in the account given by the Guru. The battle of Nadaun, the negotiations with Hussain Khan, and the fight against Raja Gopal of Guler, in all these Bhim Cand plays a very important part, and if he had abdicated in 1692 it follows that all these events happened before that year. The *Sūraj Prakash*, and the *Gur Tilas*, however, state that Raja Bhim Cand participated even in the great seige of Anandpur in 1701 but other Sikh records seem to corroborate the Bilaspore *Bansurara*. The period immediately following the incidents we have been discussing here is somewhat obscure and the Sikh records indicate that Guru Govind Singh temporarily retired to the hills whence he came out just on the eve of the introduction of his reforms. When the Bilaspore Raja is next mentioned in connection with the opposition to the Guru's reforms we find the name of Ajmer Cand in some of the Sikh chronicles². We may, therefore, accept 1692 as the date that marked the close of Raja Bhim Cand's public activities and consequently all the incidents in which he figures must be placed previously to that year.

Mr. Rose, who has been the first to give a close attention to this question, is of opinion that the incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* must have taken place between the years 1691 and 1698³. He arrives at this conclusion mainly on two different grounds. He places the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* in Samvat 1755 (1698 A. D) and secondly, he accepts Gurbux Singh's statement that the first of

1 Simla Hill-States Gazetteer, Bilaspore, p. 6.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 99; Panth Prakash, p. 291.

3 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 69; I, m, 2.

Guru Govind Singh's letters discovered by him at Dacca, which is dated Samvat 1748 (1691 A. D.) was written at a time 'when peace still prevailed though were munitions being collected'. But as Mr. Rose accepts the statement of the Bilaspore chronicle that Raja Bhim Cand had abdicated in 1692¹ it is difficult to see how his views can be maintained. He says that hostilities probably commenced in 1692, the very year which witnessed the end of Raja Bhim Cand's public career but in that case all the events in which Bhim Cand participated, viz., the battle of Bhangani, the battle of Nadaun and the adventures of Hussain Khan will have to be accommodated into a single year, which is manifestly impossible. From the Guru's own account it appears that at least the first and the second of these engagements took place after an appreciable interval but even if we suppose that the events followed one another in quick succession one single year would be clearly insufficient. Moreover, the reasons, that Gurbux Singh advances for his supposition that even in 1691 hostilities had not commenced, do not seem to be convincing. The letter in question acknowledges the receipt of swords, clothes and money through some delegates sent by the Sangat and asks for more clothes, shields and war munitions². So there is nothing in the letter itself which suggests that it was written at a time when peace still prevailed. Munitions would certainly be collected in anticipation of war but they might equally be collected when war was going on or even when war had ended. But Gurbux Singh really bases his argument on the second and the third letters. These letters are not dated but Gurbux Singh states that they were evidently written at intervals of a few months after the first letter of 1691. In the second letter the Guru asks for a first class war elephant and that an elephant was actually sent is clear from the postscript on the letter that followed³. Gurbux

1 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. I, p. 690, f. n. 4.

2 Dacca Review, 1915, p. 231. 3 Ibid., 1916, p. 316.

Singh goes on to say that 'an elephant was also the primary cause of the commencement of hostilities against him by the Hill Raja of Bilaspore, who subsequently called in the Moghuls to his help. The Sikh books relate that this was a Meghna elephant, a present from Raja Ratan Rai of Assam. As contemporary history does not support the Sikh tradition, the elephant in question might have been the one sent from Dacca and possibly a present from Raja Manik Rai of Chittagong through the Dacca Saṅgat'.¹ It is on the basis of this supposition that the elephant, which was the immediate cause of the quarrel between the Guru and Raja Bhim Cand of Bilaspore, had been sent by the Dacca Saṅgat after 1691 that we are asked to accept the statement that hostilities had not yet commenced in that year. The first part of Gurbux Singh's argument seems plausible. It is narrated in the Sikh records that Guru Tegh Bahadur had accompanied Mirza Raja Ram Singh in his expedition against the Ahoms leaving his family at Patna², where Guru Govind Singh was born during his absence. But the tenth Guru was born on the 7th of Paus, Samvat 1723³ and Raja Ram Singh's expedition against Assam took place two years later⁴. Therefore it is not possible to reconcile the Sikh tradition with contemporary history. Gurbux Singh suggests that Guru Tegh Bahadur possibly accompanied Raja Subal Singh Sesodia, the only Rajput of note that took part in the expedition against Chittagong, which was carried on in the winter of

1 Dacca Review, 1916, p. 316.

2 Macauliffe, vol. iv, pp. 348-352.

3 Cunningham makes Govind 15 at the time of his accession (p. 66) and he is followed by Narang, who vaguely says that the Guru was barely 15 (p. 72). But the evidence of the Sikh records is unanimous. See Irvine, p. 84, f. n.

4 Sarkar's Aurangzib, vol. iii, p. 187. Raja Ram Singh was appointed to the command against Assam in December, 1667, and he reached Rangamati in February, 1669.

1665-66 A.D. and this corresponds very well with the date of birth of Guru Govind Singh¹. But his identification of the elephant that led to the quarrel with Bhim Cand with the other that was sent by the Dacca Saṅgat is, more or less, a clever guess and we find it difficult to accept its implications in the face of all that we have said before and the united testimony of the Sikh authorities that hostilities had commenced at an earlier date.

Indeed, it seems to us that this confusion about the chronology of Guru Govind Singh need never have arisen if the Sikh records had been given the attention they deserve. They are all unanimous with regard to the general sequence of events and the date of the commencement of hostilities with the Hill Rajas. We would reserve the discussion of the details for another occasion but it may be stated here that most of the important Sikh authorities are agreed that the battle of Bhangani, where the Guru received his baptism of fire, took place about Samvat 1741 or 1687 A.D.². Besides, there exists another very interesting piece of evidence which we would mention here for what it is worth. We are told that after the battle was over Guru Govind Singh rewarded those of his followers who had distinguished themselves in the fray. One of these fortunate few was the Brahmin Dayaram whom the Guru credits 'with having fought bravely like Drona of old'. He was given a shield made of rhinoceros-skin and it is still preserved in the residence of his descendant at Anandapur. It is about 2 feet 3 inches in breadth and to it is attached a weapon resembling the triangular head of a spear. On the latter there is an inscription describing the circum-

1. Dacca Review, 1915, p. 222, f. n.

2. Panth Prakāś, p. 101; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 51. He places the birth of Ajit Singh in January, 1687, which event he places immediately after the battle of Bhangani; Itihās Guru Khalsā, p. 322.

tances of the grant, which is dated Samvat 1744¹. As we are not in possession of the opinion of any expert with regard to this inscription it is not safe to place too much reliance upon it but this much may be said that the date of the inscription at least proves the existence of a strong Sikh tradition that the battle of Bhangani was fought in 1687.

The Sikh records do not tell us anything definite with regard to the time of the battle of Nadaun but there is a hint in some of them which suggests that the battle was fought about 1689. We are told that the Guru's second son, who was born on the seventh day of the month of Cet. Samvat, 1747 (April, 1690) was named Zorawar Singh, or the powerful lion, in commemoration of the battle of Nadaun². The failure of the son of Dilawar Khan and the adventures of Hussain Khan followed soon after and from the account given in the *Panth Prakash*³ it appears that these were finished by the year 1691. At any rate we must place them before 1692, the year of Raja Bhim Cand's abdication.

But now a difficulty arises. In the 12th and 13th sections of the *Vicitra Natuka* two other incidents are mentioned in which Raja Bhim Cand plays no part. The 12th section gives an account of a struggle between one of the Hill Rajas on the one side and a general of Dilawar Khan named Jujhar Singh, on the other. In the 13th section the Guru narrates the story of the arrival of a son of Aurangzib in the Punjab. It does not appear that the Emperor's son remained long in the Punjab or any depredations there⁴. He was succeeded by Mirza Beg Khan who proceeded to plunder all those who had taken

1 T. Banerjee—Life of Guru Govind Singh in Bengal, pp. 170-171.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 55.

3 Panth Prakash, p. 64.

4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 54.

refuge in the hills as soon as they came to know the Shahzada was approaching. 'Any that escaped from Mirza Beg were afterwards punished by four other equally relentless officers who succeeded him'. From the Guru's account it appears that desertions had taken place from his own ranks and he concludes his work by cursing the apostates in this world and the next.

The adventure of Jujhar Singh is ignored by the Sikh writers and the reason may perhaps be guessed. They were writing about their Guru and, as the incident in question had no concern with him, they did not think it necessary to incorporate it in their works. Even with regard to the second incident the Guru's direct concern was not much and it appears from his own treatment of the subject that he incorporated it in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* mainly with the object of reading a lesson on apostasy. From other references in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* it appears that desertions were by no means rare and the Guru hardly misses an opportunity of telling us how the apostates were punished either by himself or by others¹.

Nevertheless, this particular reference introduces a very great complication. The name of the Shahzada is not mentioned in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* but Macauliffe says that it was Prince Muazzim who afterwards became known as the Emperor Bahadur Shah². Malcolm is of opinion that 'this must have been in the year 1701, when Bahadur Shah was detached from the Dakhin to take charge of the government of Kabul, and was probably ordered, at the same time, to settle the disturbances in the Punjab³'. This is a mere guess which rests on two assumptions—that the Prince referred to in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was none other than Bahadur Shah himself and that he was ordered to settle the

1. *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 37, 38; x, 1.

2. Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 59.

3. Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 60, f. n.

disturbances in the Punjab when he was appointed to the government of Kabul. Cunningham does not seem to accept Malcolm's views¹, but they receive considerable support from the *Gur Vilās*, perhaps the most important authority on Guru Govind Singh next to the *Vicēva Natak* itself. From Bhāi Sukhā Singh's account it appears that almost immediately after the creation of the Panth, difficulties commenced with the Hill Rajas, mainly because the Sikhs began to exact contributions by force from the Hill people, whenever they found themselves in urgent need of anything that the latter possessed². The Rajas were exasperated and complained to the Imperial authorities at Delhi. The Government sent two successive detachments to aid the Rajas against the Guru but the allies were on each occasion, defeated and driven back. Then a Shahzada was sent to take the command against the Guru but Nand Chand, a Khatri of Delhi, who possessed some influence with the prince, succeeded in convincing him of the Guru's innocence and the Prince returned to Lahore without achieving anything. He was succeeded by two officers who plundered all those who had taken refuge in the hills on the approach of the Shahzada. Four others followed under the leadership of Mirza Beg Moghul who completed the work of their predecessors³. As Guru Govind Singh introduced his reforms in 1699 it does not seem improbable that these events occurred near about 1701.

But we find it extremely difficult to follow the lead of *Gur Vilās*, particularly in this instance. Of the circumstances of 1701 we get copious details from the various Sikh authorities. The breach with the Hill Rajas was final and complete. They had already made a common cause against the Guru and called in the aid of the Muhammadans. The allies had been worsted in two or three successive engagements but they

1. Cunningham, p. 78, l. n. 1.

Gur Vilās, xiii, 8, 9.

2. *Gur Vilās*, xii, 113-185.

3. *l. l. c.*, LXII, 192.

had rallied back and the great siege of Anandpur was about to commence. But the Guru's own account of the circumstances under which the advent of the Shahzada took place is entirely different. From the *Vicitra Nāṭak* it clearly appears that Dilawar Khan sent Jujhar Singh against the Hill Rajas when he heard of the disastrous end of Hussain Khan's expedition. At any rate, it is extremely improbable that any appreciable time elapsed between the death of Hussain Khan and the expedition under Jujhar Singh. The Guru says that when the news of these repeated failures reached Aurangzib, he was beside himself with rage and sent his son to the Punjab to set matters right. It appears, therefore, that the prince was sent primarily against the Hill chieftains, some of whom were in rebellion and had successfully defied and destroyed the armies of Dilawar Khan under successive generals, and only secondarily, against the Guru. Moreover, the Guru's account does not indicate any considerable gap between the death of Jujhar Singh and the arrival of the Shahzada. It may as well be pointed out here that, like all the other Sikh records, the *Gur Vihār* also places the various other incidents narrated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* previous to the introduction of Guru Govind Singh's reforms and it becomes difficult to understand why the Guru, in his narrative, would skip over a considerable period, abounding in interests of every description, and suddenly bring his account to a close by referring to an incident, with which he had no direct concern. We, therefore, think that Macauliffe's arrangement is right and that the expedition of the Shahzada must be put earlier.

Macauliffe does not specify the time of the Shahzada's arrival but as he is inclined to think that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was composed about 1692 he must be understood to have meant that the expeditions of the Shahzada, Mirza Beg Khan and his four successors must all have taken place before that year. We do not think that we would be justified in committing ourselves to any definite date. From the Guru's

account, however, it clearly appears that these events followed one another in rather a quick succession and therefore Macauliffe cannot be far off the mark, though perhaps a bit too early.

We have said before that the Sikh records indicate a gap in the military activities of Guru Govind Singh from after the close of these incidents till 1699. Indeed, they give us very little information with regard to the doings of the Guru in the meantime and the veil is not completely raised till the Guru convenes the great assembly at Keshgarh and bring the Khālsā into existence. It was during the period of obscurity that the Guru is said to have lived in retirement on the lofty peaks on which the temple of Nainā Devī is situated¹, and was engaged, as some say², in worshipping the Devī and performing a great sacrifice in order to obtain her blessings, or, as modern Sikh opinion suggests³, in demonstrating the futility of all such practices. The sacrifice is said to have been undertaken in the year 1693⁴. We are not told anything about the length of the Guru's stay in the hills but it appears that he could not have been long in retirement. Guru Govind Singh's letter to the ancestors of the Phulkian chiefs, now preserved at Patiala, in which he invites them to aid him with their horsemen, is dated Samvat 1753⁵ and it shows that even in 1696 the Guru was still busy with his military preparations. It is not stated in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* whether the four successors of Mirzā Beg

1 See Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur, pp. 13, 14.

2 Suraj Prakaś; Gur Vilās, viii, ix, x.

3 Panth Prakaś, xxv; Khair Singh? Hām Hunda Nahin, pp. 116-121; Tej Singh's Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism. In this instance Macauliffe follows the Panth Prakaś in his object throughout has been to present the Sikh viewpoint (vol. v, pp. 63-65).

4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 66; T. Bauerjee, p. 201.

5 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. i, p. 699, l. m. 2; Macauliffe also refers to a letter written in the same year, vol. v, p. 224.

Khan came together or one after another, and it may not be improbable that the Guru's anxiety to keep himself in a state of preparedness even in 1696 was due to the activities of one of these in the hills close to Anandpur.

Now perhaps, we can take up the question of the date of composition. The general discussion about the chronology of Guru Govind Singh has not, as we had expected, set a limit to the range of probability but the ground has been considerably cleared and we can now proceed with some amount of confidence.

There exist two different versions of a Sikh tradition about the composition of the *Granth* by Guru Govind Singh. The story runs that after his accession to the gaddi of his father, Guru Govind Singh sent for the *Granth Sāhib* of Guru Arjan which was in the hands of Dhir Mal at Kiratpur. As is well known, this Dhir Mal was no friend of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his son and he is said to have retorted that if Guru Govind Singh was the true representative of the Gurus and if the light of Guru Nānak was in him it was quite within his powers to produce another such *Granth*. The Guru accepted the challenge but here the tradition splits and we have two versions of what followed. Some say that Guru Govind Singh accordingly composed the *Dasam Pādsāh kō Granth*¹, while others are of opinion that it was this refusal of Dhir Mal to hand over the *Granth Sāhib* of Guru Arjan that led him to dictate the whole of the *Granth* to Bhāi Mani Singh during his residence at Dandama². It was on this occasion that the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur and a śloka of Guru Govind Singh himself were incorporated in the *Granth Sāhib*.

As far as we are aware, there is no evidence to support Cunningham's statement that at Dandama the Guru occupied

1. F. Banerjee, p. 216; Sikkhan de Rāj di Bikhī, p. 43.

2. Panth Prakaś, p. 255; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223; Itihās Guru Khalsa, p. 338.

himself in composing supplemental Granth, the Book of the Tenth King, to rouse the energies and sustain the hopes of the faithful¹. The Sikh records merely state that at Dandama the Guru compiled a new recension of the old *Granth Sāhib* and it seems clear that the composition of the tenth Granth had begun earlier. As we have already said the *Dasam Pādsāh kī Granth* is a huge, unwieldy medley of heterogeneous matter and there is clear internal evidence that different parts of it were written by different writers at different times. The Guru is said to have kept 52 bards in his employ, the names of some of whom are given in the *Panth Prakāś*². Together with these the Guru had commenced translations and abridged versions of the more important of the Hindu mythological works and from a few scanty references, here and there, it appears that much of it had been completed even before 1699³. Dr. Narang says that Guru Govind Singh compiled the *Dasam Pādsāh kī Granth* during his residence at Dandama⁴ but we learn from the Sikh records that the compilation by Bhāi Mani Singh took place 26 years after the death of the Guru⁵.

In fact, we know of no evidence that would entitle us to say that the *Dasam Pādsāh kī Granth* was either written or compiled during the Guru's residence at Dandama. But it may be argued that a part of the work, including the *Vicitra Nāṭak* might have been written at Dandama. Besides the fact there is no evidence to support such a statement either, there are two other considerations which would prevent us from accepting such a view. In the first place, we have got to take note of the contents of the work and the motive that lay behind its composition. The main object of Guru was the presentation of his mission. What would

1 Cunningham, p. 80.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 83; *Panth Prakāś*, p. 164, t. n.

3 *Panth Prakāś*, p. 164; Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 67.

4 Narang, p. 99.

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 223, t. n.

be the psychological moment for the issue of such a work ? Undoubtedly the moment when the Guru was preparing to take upon himself the role of a teacher of men. Secondly, it may as well be pointed out here that in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* we breathe a distinctly pre-Khālsā atmosphere. 'The account given by the Guru of his previous life and the circumstances which led to his birth reads like an episode from the Purāṇas, and all its details are saturated with the spirit of Hindu mythology'¹. The *Vicitra Nāṭak* presents a striking family resemblance to such other translations and abridged versions of mythological texts like the *Cuṇḍī Caritra* or the *Rām Acotār*, the latter of which, according to the Guru's own statement, was completed on the fourteenth day of June, 1698, 'at the base of the lofty Nainā Devī on the margin of the Sutlej waters'². As far as we are aware, Sikh tradition places the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* as well, near about that time³. Thus while, on the one hand, there is hardly any evidence in support of the views of Cunningham and Narang, circumstances as well as tradition point to an earlier date. We have already stated that Macauliffe's date seems to be a bit too early and, therefore, we are inclined to place the composition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* somewhere between 1696 and 1698.

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1 Narang, Appendix I, p. vii.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 67.

3 Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes, vol. i, p. 690, f. n. 2 ; Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 186 ; Sikkhan de Rāj di Bikhā, Court's Translation, p. 43.

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Gauḍapada Karikas

II

Now, in discussing as to how the prose passages are based on the *Gauḍapada-kārikās* and not the latter on the former let us now first examine whether the *Gauḍapada-kārikās* can be regarded as a *vārtika* 'explanatory work' on or a *vyākhyāna* 'exposition' of the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* as is generally held and supported by Ānandagiri and others¹. That it cannot be regarded as a *vārtika* is evident from the simple fact that it has no characteristics of a *vārtika*. A *vārtika* is an explanatory work in which there is discussion on what is said, what is not said, and what is said badly in the original book². And there is nothing of it in the *Gauḍapada-kārikās*. If one compares them with the works known by the name of *vārtika*³ one will at once understand that the *Gauḍapada-kārikās* cannot be classed with them⁴.

1. See I. II. op. I. p. 12, I. p. 1.

2. Says Rājasekhara (*Kācramoniyas*, G.O.S., 1910, p. 1) "tattvaat taduruktacintavārtikam."

3. Such as Katyayana's *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, Kumarila's *Śloka* and *Tantra-vārtikas* on Śābarasvamin's commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā sūtras*, Sureśvaracharya's *Vārtika* on the commentary on the *Bhāṣya Up.* by Śaṅkara.

4. It may also be noted *en passant* that according to Ānandagiri (p. 5, l. 22) the *Gauḍapada-kārikās* are also regarded as a *Prakaraṇa*. A *Prakaraṇa* is a kind of work which is connected with a particular part of a Śāstra and deals with a thing or things which are not discussed in the main Śāstra.

"Śāstraikadeśasambaddham śāstrakaryantare sthitam,
Prahūḥ prakaraṇaṃ nama granthabhedan vipaścitam."

Quoted by Rāmātīrtha in his *Tika* on the *Vedāntasāra* (ed. Jacob), p. 31.

This view of Ānandagiri can hardly be accepted when he himself says that the *kārikās* are mere *gāthās* of the *Up.* For a *Prakaraṇa*

Supposing the kārīkāś to be an explanation of the prose passages of the Up. as they are held to be, one may naturally expect to see the difficult points in the latter explained in the former. And it is quite natural that in an explanatory work the same words of the original are quoted and explained so far as possible and reasonable. And it also goes without saying that an exposition may add something new to what is said in the original : but it does not omit the most important and difficult words or points in it. If these facts are considered it will be evident that it is rather the kārīkāś than the prose passages that should be regarded as original.

According to the general view, kārīkāś 3-5 are to be taken as the exposition of the prose passages 3-1, and 5. Now, *saptāṅga* 'one with seven limbs' and *ekonaśiṃśatīmukha* 'one with nineteen mouths' are the two most difficult words in the passages 2 and 3 which are differently explained by different commentators¹, but not even the slightest mention of them has been made in the kārīkāś. Why should the kārīkāś which are supposed to have been written to explain the text omit these two important words ?

And again, in the Upaniṣad (3, 9) we have the word *caisra-
nara* and not *cisra*, while in the kārīkāś (I, 1 : II, 19) there is only *cisra* and never *caisranara*. Here the author of the kārīkāś which are held to be an exposition of the Up. should have quoted or written the actual word, *caisranara*, employed

cannot be regarded as a *crākṣṇa*. And if the word *crākṣṇa* is taken in a still wider sense then any work on Vedānta, which has already been written or would be written in future, would be regarded as a *crākṣṇa* of the Ups. But nobody can subscribe to this view. The word *prākaraṇa* is, however, used in the *bhāṣya* (p. 5, l. 9) in the sense of 'treatment' 'discussion' or 'chapter' as the different *prākaraṇas* of the *Yogavāsisṭha*.

1 See Śāṅkara here and on *Ārṣp. Up.*, 1. Madhva, Kuranarayana, Puruṣottama, Vidyaranya on *Ārṣp. Up.* I. and Narāyaṇa on *Kaṇḍik. Up.* 3.

in the text. For a commentator is only to explain what is actually found in the text and he cannot take the liberty of changing it. Nor are the two words, *viśva* and *vaīśvanara*, identical or synonymous. Why has he then altered the original word using for it *viśva* so many times? That it is owing to the metre is out of the question.

The same is the case with *prajñānaghana* in the Up. (3) for which the kārīkā (I) has *jñānaghana*. In this connection there are three words more, which should have been mentioned here in the kārīkā viz., (i) *jagaritasthana*, (ii) *śvapnasthana*, and (iii) *suṣuptasthana*; but they are entirely omitted in them. But why? It cannot be explained away by simply saying that they are not so important or difficult as to require any explanation; for to understand the main thought of the passages there, those three stages, wakefulness, dream, and deep sleep, must be borne in mind.

The fact is that the kārīkā is the older work from which as from the others the Up. is compiled¹, and in doing so some of the thoughts in those works as well as in the kārīkā are simplified, modified, or explained, adding also something more to the Up. Thus in the present case the author of the Up. having found the word *viśva* in its peculiar sense nowhere in the Uṣ.,² appears to have substituted it for *vaīśvanara* used in such great Up., as the *Chāndogya* (V, 11, 12) and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (V, 9, 1). Now, the author of the *Aṣṭaṅghottaratāpanya* Up., I, where the whole of the *Maṇḍūkya* Up. is quoted with some different readings³, seeing both the words, *viśva* in the kārīkā and *vaīśvanara* in the Up., has adopted both of them⁴ and simplified the text to some

1 See infra and P. Deussen's *Upaniṣads des Vedas*, 1921, p. 574.

2 Excepting perhaps *Maitrī. Up.*, 6, 7, whose origin is also later.

3 The *Māṇḍūkya* Up. is almost entirely quoted also in the *Aṣṭaṅghottaratāpanya* Up., I.

4 *Stūlabhūḥ caturtatva viśvo vaīśvanarāḥ prathamāḥ padāḥ.*

extent¹. And why these two terms are taken together and what might be their special significance is clearly shown by Vidyāranya in his *Tika* on the *Ngss. Up.* and *Pañcādāśi*, I, 28-29,² adding some new colour. In the same way though without any authority the three states *jāgarita*, *svapna* and *susupta* (Up., 3, 1) are later additions for a clearer exposition of the terms *bhīṣprajñā*, *anandaprajñā*, and *ghṇaprajñā* (Kā., I).

The words *saptanga* and *ekavāstrīṣaśāṭṭhika* referred to above are also mere later additions though without any particular importance. As regards *ghṇaprajñā* (Kā., I) the author of the Up. (a) has adopted the original word *prajñānaghana* from the *Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 3, 13, on which, too, the former is undoubtedly based, for we see that the author of the *karikas* profusely quotes from it.

That the Up. itself has borrowed from the *karikas* (as well as from others) will be evident also from the comparison of both the texts. In the *karikā* we have simply *ghṇaprajñā* (1) and *anandabhūj* (3) or *ananda* (4) while the Up. (a) reads as follows:—

“Yatra supto na kañcana kāmam kāmāyate, na kañcana svapnam paśyati (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 3, 19) tat susuptyam. Susuptesthāna ekibhutaḥ³ ‘prajñānaghana’ (*Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 5, 13) eva ‘anandamayo’ (*Tait. Up.*, II, 5, 1) hyānandabhuk cetomukhaḥ prajñāstrīṣaṣṭīyaḥ pādaḥ⁴.”

Which of these two, the *kārikās* and the Up., is original and which is the exposition can now easily be inferred. The word *ghṇaprajñā* in the *kārikā* is no doubt

1. This is also with the *Ngp. Up.* For example, *sāṅgma* is substituted in the *Ngss. Up.* I for *praviṣṭa* in *karikas*, 3, 4. Here *sāṅgma* is undoubtedly more simple than *praviṣṭa*. For details the reader is referred to that Up.

2. See also *Vedāntasāra*, 17.

3. See *Bṛhad. Up.*, IV, 12; *Prasna*, IV, 2; *Mund.*, 3, 2, 7; also *Aty.*, I, 1; *Uss.*, I, *Kārikā*, 3.

identical with *prajñānaghaṇa* though in a somewhat different form, and to explain it the Up. has introduced the word *ekbhūta* found in the form of *ekbhavati* in so many Ups.¹ Similarly *anandabhoj* (kārikā, 3) is explained by *ananda-maya* taken from the *Tait. Up.* (*loc. cit.*).

The Kārikā I, 19 runs as follows :—

“Viśvasyūtvavivakṣāyam ālisīmānyam utkaṭam,
Mātrāsampratipattau syād āptisāmānyam eva ca.”

And the corresponding passage (9) of the Up. is this :—

“Jāgaritasthano vaiśvānaro kāraḥ prathama matrapte-
radimatvād vā, āpuoti sarvaṁ kāmān āliś ca bhavati ya evaṁ
vede.”

Vaiśvanara whose sphere is waking state is the first *matrā* ‘measure’ *a*, on account of its all pervasiveness (*āpti*) or on account of its being first (*ādīmatrā*). One who knows has all his desires satisfied and becomes the first (of all).

Now, if these two texts are compared, it will at once be evident that the second is merely the exposition of the first with a tinge of the language used in the Brahmayas. Here is one point more. In the first extract the reason is advanced as to why *Viśva* (= *Vaiśvanara* of the Up.) is to be regarded as *a*. And the reason is similarity (*samānya*)—similarity between *Viśva* and *a-kāra*. And this similarity is the ‘beginning’ (*ādī*) and ‘pervasion’ (*āpti*). According to the order of *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, and *Prājña*, *Viśva* is in the beginning or first (*ādī*) ; just so is in the beginning or first *a-kāra* of *a*, *u*, and *m* of which *Okāra* is composed. Owing to this similarity *Viśva* is said to be identical with *a-kāra*. The second similarity which is *āpti* is explained thus : As *Viśva* pervades all the visible world so does *a-kāra* all the speech. On account of this similarity, too, *Viśva* is to be regarded as *a-kāra*. The passage of the Up. under discussion, however, gives a somewhat different explanation of this identity. For the kārikā

1 See the previous note.

says that owing to *both* the similarities of *ādi* and *āpti* they are identical, while the Up. clearly says that it is owing to *either* of them “*āpter ādimatteādīl vā.*” All these seem to be later developments.

The case is invariably the same with the kārīkāṣ I, 20, 21 and the corresponding passages, 10, 11 of the Up. which for want of space I refrain from quoting and explaining here. As regards the passage 10 there is a curious point to be noted. The author says that *Taijasa* is *u-kāra* because of *utkarṣa* ‘superiority’ or *abhyagata* ‘state of being in both or in the middle’. He then explains the first term¹ only leaving out the second entirely. And this seems to be due to oversight on his part. Besides what is already said there is one thing to be noticed as regards the kārīkā I, 21 and the corresponding passage (11) of the Up. In the former one of the two similarities is *māna* measure from *√ma*, while in the latter the word is not *māna* but *mīti* from *√mi*. The difference between the modes of expression of the same thought here and elsewhere as noticed will also show that these two texts, though they deal with the same subject and are closely connected, are independent, both of them having such a freedom as is hardly found in a text and its commentary.

The conception of *ātman* as having four quarters (*catuspāda*)² is not quite explicit in words in the kārīkāṣ, though it may be inferred from some of them³. It is, however, fully developed in the Up. (2) from the beginning. This fact also goes to show the priority of the kārīkāṣ to the Up.

The distinction between *turya* or *turiya* ‘fourth’ and the other three, *Viśva*, *Taijasa*, and *Prājña*, as made in the kārīkāṣ (I, 10-14), is not at all to be found in the Up. but its nature which is described in a kārīkā (I, 29) simply by

1. “*Utkarṣati ha vai jñānasantatiṃ samānaś ca bhavati*”.

2. Up. 2 : “*So'yamatmā catuspat*”.

3. I, 10-15 (where the fourth state is described), and 24 and 29 (where *Prājña* is described with and without *mātri* respectively).

two words, *śīva* 'blissful' and *dvaita-upasama* 'cessation of duality', is thus delineated in the following two passages of the Ūp. (7, 12) :

(i) nāntaprajñāṃ na valisprajñāṃ nobhayataprajñāṃ na prajñānaghaṇam naprajñāṃ nāprajñāṃ. Adṛṣṭam avyavahariyam agrāhyam alakṣyaṃ acintyam avyapadeśyam ekātma pratyayasāram prapañcopaśamam sātma śivam advaitam caturtham manyante. Sa tū mā sa vijñeya.

(ii) Amātraścaturtho'vyavahārya prapañcopaśamah śivo dvaita evam'oṅkāra ātmaiva.

These two passages are mere amplification or exposition of what is briefly said in the kārīka (I, 29) and consequently are to be regarded as later developments.

Compare the kārīka I, 21 with the passage (c) of the Ūp. and it will be perfectly clear that the former is explained in the latter in details.

The kārīkā I, 6 opening the discussion about the origin or creation (*prabhava*) of things may be connected with the last part of the passage (6) : "prabhavāpyau hi bhūtānam" *Prabhava* is described in the kārīkā (I, 6-9) at some length but *apyauga* 'disappearance' or 'vanishing' is not even touched. This would hardly be likely if the *Gaṇḍapāda-kārikās* were meant to explain the Ūp.

All these considerations coupled with the views of Madhvācārya and others strongly lead us to the conclusion that (i) the *Gaṇḍapāda-kārikās* are not the exposition (*vyākhyāna*) of the *Māṇḍūkya Ūp.*, (ii) the latter is mainly based on the former, and (iii) as such, is later than it."

Moreover, there is no evidence whatever for assigning it a date before the great Śaṅkarācārya. Nowhere does he or any of his predecessors quote it, nor has he made any

1 Here *prabhavāpyau* is undoubtedly taken from *Kaṭha Ūp.*, 2, 2."

2 Cf. Max Müller : *Der altere Vedānta*, 1910, p. 5, where he says that the kārīkā do not show that the Ūp. was before them.

mention of it even in the case where he could or should have done it¹. That he never feels tired of quoting *śrutis* is well-known and so his silence about the Up. naturally gives rise to grave doubt as to whether it existed before him or in his time. That some of the minor Ups. were before Śaṅkara cannot be denied, for instance, the *Brahma* or *Amṛta-bīṇḍa Up.*, which is a minor and later Up. This Up. existed prior to Śaṅkara as he himself has quoted it as one of the *Mokṣasāstras* though not as an Up. (*Brahmasūtras*, III, 2, 18). But as regards the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* there is no such evidence.

One may say here that in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* (I, 1, 9) there is a line which runs as follows : “prabhavāpyayāvityau patipratyayayoh prayogadarśanāt”. Here the word *Prabhavāpyayan* is evidently quoted from some work and that work is the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* in which (6) one reads the words in the following line “eṣōṇtaryāma eṣa yoniḥ sarvasya prabhavāpyayan hi bhūtanam”. It is therefore not true that Śaṅkara does not quote the Up. But this cannot be accepted conclusively, for there is a passage in the *Kaṭha Up.* (IV, 11), too, where the same word occurs in the same way “yogo hi prabhavāpyayan” and as one sees Śaṅkara quote so much from this Up. one naturally inclines to think that the quotation might also be from it and not from the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* At least there is nothing to prove that the passage invariably refers to the latter, and so the citation referred to from the commentary of the *Brahmasūtras* does not serve any purpose here.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACARYA

¹ Cf. *Up.*, II, 23, 3. See my paper *Śaṅkara's Commentaries on the Upaniṣads* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, ii, p. 104.

Bengal School of Art

II

Art-culture under the Sena kings of Bengal

In Varendra kingdom Vijayasena Deva claiming descent from a Kṣatriya clan of Karmāṭa in Southern India snatched away the government from the hands of the Palas. His son and successor Ballala Sena was too deeply engaged in the extension of territories and consolidation of his conquests and too much interested in social reforms and foundation of Kulinism in Bengal to leave any marked trace of his patronage of art and religion. Ballala's son Lakṣmaṇa Sena during the earlier part of his long tenure of sovereignty annexed the whole region from the Sunderbans to Benares and established peace and order, under the shade of which poetry and fine arts flourished with great splendour. Many copper-plates and stone inscriptions of these three kings have been discovered and correctly deciphered. Vijayapura in the Rajshahi District seems to have been the capital of Vijayasena and the record of his dedication of the temple of *Pradyumnēśvara* in the vicinity is now known as the Devaṇara inscription. Some of the Pala kings had established their seat of government in Gaud, a part of which has been suggested to have been the city of Rāmavati, founded by Rāmapāla. Ballala Sena took that city and had one of his capitals in its neighbourhood, now identified as Ballalabagh. Lakṣmaṇa Sena erected his fort of Gaud on a branch of the Bhagīrathi and the extensive city of Gaud is still marked by many large tanks, glorious monuments of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, even after all the attempts of the Pathan lords of Gaud to demolish the traces of the Hindu rule. In Gaud and Pandua, both in the District of Maldah are seen many buildings, ruined temples, broken or unbroken images, misplaced pillars and carved plates, with distinct marks of the art-culture under the patronage of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The epoch of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the high-water mark of the Sena-culture. He had a *Pañcaratna sabha* like the Navaratna of king Vikramāditya and members of his court were erudite pandits. Not only was there a renaissance of literature but also of Fine Arts, especially of sculpture and architecture for giving a stimulus to Hindu religion by dedicating images and enshrining them in fine buildings. From the workshop of the great city of Gauḍ were imported, by river routes, into all parts of his vast realm from Samatāṭa to Benares, fine images of Hindu Tantric gods and goddesses carved from black marble or basalt rocks of the Rajmahal Hills in the vicinity of his capital. Most of the images were of four-armed Vasudeva or Viṣṇu, of Tantric goddesses, and of Gaṇeśa. As the people of the country were at the time mostly converts from Buddhism or were Viṣṇuvites, the Tantric worship was restricted within the precincts of the capital cities and so the greatest number of images exported from Gauḍ was of *Viṣṇu*. According to the hard and fast rules of the *śilpaśāstras* and in deference to the Tantric *Dhyānamantras*, the iconography of the images, their poses and gestures, their 'finger plays', and visual expression were fixed, but embellished with a halo of divinity, wherein the artist could show his genius and stamp his personality.

In architecture the Bengal artists had a peculiar style of their own distinguished from the Āryāvarta style, and for this they depended on the native style of house-making and utilised the available materials of their locality. As stone is not easily available in Bengal they had to work mainly with bricks, which, though useful for the display of artistic ornamentation, are a sort of short-lived material specially in the damp and saline climate of the country. In the masonry works of bricks, particularly in the construction of temples, the native artists followed the manner of their *Docālās* called *Bungalows* or *Cucālās* called *Maṇḍapas* or *Muths*. For provision of space the *Docala* buildings were doubled and were called *Joi-Bungalows*.

and the *candilās* were made two-storied and called Pañcaratna or Navaratna or the like, according to the number of *candilās* or spires built on their quadrangular domes.

Thousands of sculptures of the Sena period were destroyed by the iconoclastic Islamic conquerors and thousands of them again were thrown into tanks or buried underground by their Hindu owners, when frightened by the shock of invasion or fleeing for the sake of religion. A few only of the specimens of the Sena Art are here cited, as they can still be noticed with interest or examined with profit:

1. At Pandua in the Maldah District in the Adina and Eklakhi mosques as well as in the Golden mosque and near Saint Nur Qutb Alam's tomb, and at Gauḍ the ancient capital of Bengal in the same District, in the one domed *Chika*, and other Hindu monuments of the city, Hindu images on the door posts and lintels, and artistically carved black marble pillars are still observed. In the Adina mosque, images of *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī*, the attendant deities of a Viṣṇu image already removed, images of goddesses and a water-pipe with a carved figure-head of *Makur*, presumably belonging to an earlier huge Hindu structure, have been utilised though it was against the principle of Islamic custom. The gate-way of Makhdam Shah's *Dargah* at Pandua is an old *Bāṅglā Torāṇa* of the Sena period. In the ruins of Gauḍ many stone plates with scenes from *Purāṇas* in relief have been discovered.

2. A stone image of *Candī* found at Dacca with an inscription showing that it was dedicated in the 3rd year of the reign of Lakṣmīnarsena Deva.

3. A beautiful stone image of a Tantric goddess *Bhuvaneśvari* still worshipped at Shaikhati village in the Jessore District, which, I have reasons to hold, was once a provincial capital of the Sena kings in the Bagri division of Bengal. This image was highly eulogised by Mr. V. A. Smith from an artistic point of view, and an account of it has been given in my "History of Jessore and Khulna".

4. A large image of four-armed Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva discovered (in January, 1923) by excavations in the modern town of Jessore (the main figure is 5ft-9inches in height). This was once enshrined in a huge temple, some stone door-frames of which had been previously discovered by me.

5. Hundreds of four-armed Vāsudeva images are still discovered all over Southern Bengal where the Sena Kings had once a firm rule. Three such images have been unearthed in the district of Khulna alone in the current year. One such image of Viṣṇu was unearthed in the heart of the town of Jessore in the month of November last.

6. It is known from an unpublished Ms. *Digvijaya Prakaśa* that King Lakṣmanasena Deva erected the temple of *Gaṅga Bhairava Śiva* at Isvaripur or old Yaśohara, the famous capital of King Pratāpāditya. An exquisitely fine image of Gaṅga Devī standing on a *Makar* is now preserved in the temple of *Yaśoreswari* at the place, testifying to the successful culture of Art under the noble patronage of the Sena kings, and disproving the remark of Taramath about the inferiority of Hindu images subsequent to the Pāla period.

Art-culture under the Pathan kings of Bengal

It took a long time for the Pathans to take possession of Bengal since their first conquest. Newcomers as they were, at the outset they were more busy with the assertion of their power and extension of their annexations than with any attempt for the erection of any palace or mosque. Subsequently, when they had a settled government of their own in place of anarchy or revolts and were seated safely on the *masnad*, they adopted themselves to the products and the climate of their colony; and when they had enough of the destruction of Hindu and Buddhist temples, they turned to replace the old edifices by building mosques 'on a grand scale and in a distinctive style', utilising the old materials as best as they could.

But they imported no particular style of their own into Bengal. Fergusson has rightly remarked "wherever the Mahomedans went, they introduced no style of their own but employed the native people to build their mosques for them and this accounted for the fact that some of the most beautiful Mahomedan buildings in India were purely Hindu from first to last"¹. The Pathan kings of Gaud and Pandua called for native artisans who had almost all lost their crafts for want of patronage, and had their guilds broken, workshops dismantled, and their disciples dispersed or massacred. Those that still survived were pining for employment. They had no Hindu customers as none dared enshrine an image. It is forbidden by the Moslem canons to draw, carve or paint any animal figure. So the art of iconography was practically lost and sculptors had to maintain and satisfy themselves by chiselling massive columns, carving tastefully decorated prayer niches of mosques with flower work, and embellishing their front with plates of artistic Arabic inscriptions in Tagrah characters.

When Bengal declared her independence and it was acknowledged by the Delhi emperors by the middle of the 14th century, the Pathan kings of Bengal became great builders and under their noble auspices architecture flourished. The architects were mostly Hindu, working with materials generally vandalised from old Hindu structures and the process of construction and mortar-making was also Hindu. The only modification was by the suggestions of the patrons to give the whole thing a new appearance decidedly Islamic. This was done by the introduction of the pointed arches and domes after the manner of some Delhi mosques believed by Mr. Smith to have belonged to the style of Baghdad². That may be true with regard to domic vaults but the pointed arch had been known to Bengali masons from a very early age. Mr. Havell observes : "The Bengali builders being brick-layers

1 Fergusson's lecture "On the Study of Indian Architecture", p. 32.

2 History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 392.

rather than stone-masons had learnt to use the radiating arch whenever it was useful for constructive purposes long before the Mahomedans came there."¹

So the Pathan architecture in Bengal was a hybrid of Hindu and Moslem art but still it was a distinctive Bengali style. "It is (Fergusson says) neither like that of Delhi, nor Jaunpur, nor any other style but one purely local, and not without considerable merit in itself; its principal characteristic being heavy short pillars of stone supporting pointed arches and vaults in brick—whereas at Jaunpur, for instance, light pillars carried horizontal architraves and flat ceiling."

The peculiarities of the Pathan style of Bengal mosques, even if built in the Moghul period, may be thus briefly noted (1) Pointed arches supported by heavy short pillars of stone. (2) Ceilings of a number of brick-built domes. (3) The number of domes was odd in any one row or aisle and was the multiple of odd numbers from 1 to 13.² (4) Minarets in the four corners occasionally with 2 or 4 more in the

1. Indian Architecture, pp. 52-6; see also in this connexion, Fergusson's History of Architecture, vol. II, p. 353; Mitra's Bodhgaya, pp. 102-3.

2. Some examples of the odd number of domes may be cited:—Mau oleums and Dargahs were generally in one domed mosque, rarely with verandahs as Eklakhi at Pandua, Chika, Gumti and Kadam Rasul mosques at Gaud, tomb of Khan Jahin at Bagerhat. Domestic mosques were generally of 3 domes, occasionally 3 × 3 or 9 domes, found all over Bengal. Examples of 5 domes in each of two rows are Rajibibi mosque of Gaud, Golden mosque of Pandua, Hussain Shah mosque at Bagerhat; of 5 × 3 or 15 domes—the small Golden or Eunuch's mosque at Gaud; of 3 × 11 or 33 domes—the great Golden mosque of Gaud with a verandah of 11 more domes; of 3 × 7 × 3 or 63 domes—the mosque of Pandua near Hughly; of 7 × 11 or 77 domes—the so-called Satgambuz building at Bagerhat, and the combination of several multiples like 3 × 5 × 5, 3 × 3 × 13, 5 × 5, and 3 × 3 in different cloisters is to be found in the great Adina mosque of Pandua, of which the total number of domes is 391.

middle of the walls. (5) Front on the east and closed on the west side, (6) Prayer niches, often ornamented on brick or stone in the western wall; and (7) Raised pulpit for the Muazzim close to the centre of the western wall.

Conclusion

With the fall of the Pathan rule in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century, the Bengal school of art died out. The Mughal never settled permanently in Bengal. Mughal Bengal nurtured no particular style of architecture of her own and built no edifice worthy of notice from an artistic point of view. The architecture of the British period in Bengal is an admixture of many types, both eastern and western, having no local stamp or distinct characteristic. The only revival of art in recent years that may be referred to is the rise of a new Nationalist Bengal School of Painting in Calcutta, inaugurated by the great artist Mr. Abanindranath Tagore and a host of his enthusiastic and promising followers.

SATIS CHANDRA MITRA

The Date of Kalidasa

The object of this paper is to fix the date of Kālidāsa after sifting the various conflicting traditions and scrutinising all available data. I have tried to avoid mixing up facts with inferences and theories, and facts certain with bare possibilities. As far as possible, I have verified all the facts for myself and have not allowed unproved theories like Dr. Fleet's as to the origin of Indian planetary astrology to weigh against facts and inferences which are certain.

The Aihole inscription of Śaka 556-634 A. C. refers to the fame of Kālidāsa (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 6, p. 4). Bāṇa (c. 620 A. C.), the court poet of Harṣavardhana Lowerlimit. (607-648 A. C.) praises his sweet sayings (*Harṣacarita*, intro., st. 16); and Subandhu, whose prose *Vāśavadatta* Bāṇa refers to as having humbled the pride of poets (*ibid.* st. 11) mentions Durvāsā's curse on Śakuntalā (Śrīraṅgam ed., p. 191), an incident invented by Kālidāsa and absent in the *Mahābhārata*. Kālidāsa must therefore have certainly lived before 600 A. C.

There are data pointing to his date as the 6th century A. C. The *Rājaveli* (c. 1550 Uplham : *Mahāraṃṣa*, vol. 2, p. 245) and *Pājaveli* (1311) make Three Kali- him and his friend Kumāra Dhatusena of dasas. Ceylon (542-551) die together. Dakṣiṇāvarta and Mallinātha, commenting on *Megha-dūta*, st. 11, see therein a reference to Dinnāga of the 6th century A. C. The reference is not a necessary one, but they must have been led to it by a tradition that Kālidāsa and Dinnāga were contemporaries. The *Jyotirvid-ābharaṇa* of 1242 (as indicated by its date in ch. 1, st. 30) makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Amarasiṃha. Now Varāha uses the epoch of Śaka 127 (*Pañca-siddhāntikā*, ch. 1, st. 3), criticises Āryabhaṭa (*ibid.*, ch. 15, st. 20), who wrote in Kali 3600 (*Kāla-krīyā-pāda*, st. 10), and died in Śaka 509 (Āmaraja : com. on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhāḍya*). He therefore lived in the 6th century A. C. Amara too belongs to the same period, as he follows Varāha and not Āryabhaṭa in equating the *manvantara* with 71 instead of 72 *mahāyugas*, and as, on the other hand, his *Kośa* was translated into Chinese in 561 A. C. (Max Müller's *India : What can it teach us*, 1st ed., p. 328). If therefore Kālidāsa was their contemporary, he must have lived in the 6th century A. C. But he identifies Yakṣa with Guhyaka (*Meghadūta*, sts. 1&5), while his reputed contemporary Amara distinguishes them. The Kālidāsa of the *Meghadūta* must therefore be distinguished

from the one who lived in the 6th century A. C., and Rājasekhara, in fact, mentions three Kālidāsas (Jalhana : *Sakti-muktāvalī*) before his own time (c. 900).

The *Aha-nānuru*, a Tamil Saṅgham work, identifies Paraśu-rāmā with Viṣṇu (*mudh-cathediyan* Lyric 220), while Kālidāsa regards him only as a sage, not as an *avatara*, even where he encounters Ramacandra (Raghuvamśa, canto Pre-Saṅgh-
am age. 11, sts. 85, 89), and, according to later versions, the spirit of Viṣṇu passes from him to the latter. Again Kālidāsa makes Uragapura the Pāṇḍya capital (*Ibid.* vi, 59, 60). The Gadwāl plates (7th century A. C.) locate Uragapura on the south bank of the Kaveri (*Epist. Ind.*, vol. x, no. 22). Since, in the Saṅgham age and later, both its banks were subject to the Cholas till their displacement by Pallava Simha-viṣṇu in c. 600 A. C., Kālidāsa must date before the entire Saṅgham age. The period of the Saṅgham age is much disputed, but its close must date before c. 600 A. C., as the tract between the Kāvēri and Tirupatī, which in the Saṅgham age was subject to the early Cholas, fell in c. 600 A.C. under the Pallavas, from whom it passed to the later Cholas before c. 900 A.C., and as the Saṅgham works mention at least four generations of kings, Kālidāsa cannot date after 500 A. C.

Comparing Vatsa-bhaṭṭi's verses 10 and 11 in the Mandasor inscription of Samvat 529 (472 A. C. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, no. 18) with st. 66 (Pathak, ed.) of *Meghadūta*, we find that Vatsa-bhaṭṭi is only cataloguing the items of Kālidāsa's organic description in almost the same words, and the former's *prāsada-mala* (st. 12) seems to have been copied from *Kumāra-sambhava* (vii. 56). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before 472 A. C.

In the *Raghuvamśa* (iv, 67-68), Raghu is said to have routed the Hūnas after resting on the banks of the Vaṅksu or the Sindhu. If the Huns had been living south of it, Raghu should have defeated them before resting on its banks. The Huns must therefore have lived north of it. Vaṅksu is the reading

adopted by Vallabha-deva, the earliest of the commentators. But Mallinātha prefers Sindhu. If Sindhu is adopted, the northerners whom Raghu defeats (iv, 66) should have been the Kāmbhojas, who however are mentioned separately (iv, 69). Vāṅkṣū must therefore be the correct reading; and it is now called the Oxus. The Huns therefore then lived in Sogdiana, and not in Bactria, which they did from c. 120 B. C., when they supplanted the Yue-chi, to c. 420 A. C., when they crossed the Oxus. Kālidāsa thus dates between c. 120 B. C. and c. 420 A. C.

A careful comparison of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (iii, 13-24) with the *Raghuvamśa* (vii, 5-17) and *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 56-70) compels the inference that Aśvaghoṣa.

Aśvaghoṣa took many of his ideas from Kālidāsa. If Kālidāsa were the debtor, he would not have repeated the entire description in the same words in two of his works, thereby parading the stolen goods. The orderly development of appropriate ideas, the melodious phrasing and embodied imagery that we find in Kālidāsa are entirely lacking in Aśvaghoṣa. The latter's description is only patch-work poetry. His poetic poverty is such that he repeats the same ideas twice in this short passage (cf. sts. 16&29 with sts. 19&22). We have only to compare *Raghuvamśa* vii, 11 & xvi, 56 with *Buddhacarita* iii, 20 & 16 to find out who is the poet and who the plagiarist. Besides, Aśvaghoṣa himself indicates who is the earlier of the two. When he says that the ladies looking at Buddha exclaimed that his wife was lucky, *with pure minds alone and not with any other motive* (*śuddhair manobhiḥ khalu nānyabhāvat* iii, 24), he has evidently a fling at the remark of the ladies in *Kumārasambhava* that *even a woman who should become Śiva's slave might be deemed lucky, what then of her who should attain his lap?* (*yaḥ dāsyām apyasya labheta nārī sū syāt kṛtārthā kimutāṅka-śayyām* vii, 65). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before Aśvaghoṣa. The *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka* and *Dharma-piṭaka-nīlana*, translated into Chinese in 472 A. C. (Bunyio

Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, nos. 1329 & 1340), state that Aśvaghoṣa was the *guru* of Kaniṣka. As Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era, Kālidāsa must have lived before 78 A. C.

In the *Raghuvamśa* (iv, 61), Raghu is said to have defeated the Yavanas on his way from Trikūṭa to the land of the Pārasikas, i. e., in the Indus delta. Since before 70 A. C. the Yavanas there had been displaced by the Parthians (*Periplus*, ch. 38), who in turn were ousted by the Kuṣāṇas before 89 A. C. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1881, p. 524), Kālidāsa must have lived before 70 A. C.

The Bhītā medallion (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 29, no. 81) represents a king and his charioteer seated on a chariot, with a hermit in front stopping him from hunting the deer figured below, and in the background a girl watering a tree in front of a hut. The scene at once recalls the only similar scene in early Hindu literature, i. e. the first act of the *Śakuntala*; and the situation is Kālidāsa's own invention. As the medallion was found in the Śuṅga strata, Kālidāsa must have lived before the Śuṅgas were wiped out with the Kāṇvas by the Andhras. Now Magas of Cyrene, who died in 258 B. C. was living in Aśoka's 13th regnal year (Rock-edict, viii); and as Candragupta (24 yrs.) and Bindusara (25 yrs.) preceded Aśoka, Candragupta's accession must date before 258 *plus* 12 *plus* 24 *plus* 25, i. e. 319 B. C.; and, as the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas ruled altogether for 137 *plus* 112 *plus* 15, i. e. 294 yrs., the Śuṅgas were extinct before 319-294 i. e. 25 B. C. Kālidāsa must therefore have lived before 25 B. C.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* evidences an intimate knowledge of the history of the Śuṅga period of which no trace is found in the *Parāṇas*. Its information that Puṣyamitra was called Senāpati, and that his grandson Vasumitra fought the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, thus enabling Puṣyamitra to perform an *asva-*

medha, is confirmed by Patañjali, who refers to Puṣyamitra's sacrifice and the Yavana invasion of Śāketa and Mādhyamika as a recent event, and by the Ayodhyā Śūnga inscription (1st century B. C.), which refers to Puṣyamitra Senāpati and his *ascomedha*. The other details of the play have yet to be confirmed. But all this information is not found in the *Purāṇas*. So Kālidāsa must have had access to sources of information not available for later writers. The plot of a Hindu drama should moreover be well-known (*khyāta-citra*). But later generations remembered nothing noteworthy of the Śūngas, at least nothing to their credit. Kālidāsa must therefore have derived his materials from the Śūngas themselves or their contemporaries, as otherwise the choice of the now insignificant Agnimitra for his hero becomes inexplicable. Kālidāsa must thus have lived before 25 B. C.

On the other hand, this same choice of Agnimitra for his hero fixes his upper limit. Agnimitra was the son of Puṣyamitra Senāpati the father of Vasumitra; and the foe of Mauryasaciva (Act 1, st. 7 : Act 5). He must therefore be the Śūnga Agnimitra of the *Purāṇas*. Kālayavema (15th century A. C.) suggests that Agnimitra must have been Kālidāsa's contemporary, as the latter mentions Agnimitra by name in the *Bharata-vākya*, which should be of universal application. But the *Andhravākya* (v, 11) which includes Hūṇas among wild Indian tribes and must therefore have been composed after 420 A. C. when alone the Hūṇas crossed the Oxus, likewise mentions the Maurya Candragupta in its *Bharata-vākya*. Kālidāsa and Agnimitra need not therefore have been contemporaries. But Kālidāsa must have lived after the Śūngas came to power. Now the Śūngas succeeded the Mauryas as kings of Magadha; and Candragupta Maurya, at the earliest, began to rule only after he had met Alexander in 326 B. C. (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. 52). So the Śūnga rule dates after 326 *minus* 137 i.e. 189 B. C. as the Mauryas ruled for 137 years; and 189 B. C. is therefore the upper limit of Kālidāsa's date.

We have seen already that Kālidāsa's location of the Huns in Sogdiana places him after 120 B. C. In the *Raghuvamśa* (iii, 13) again, he gives five ascendant planets as a Solar signs. mark of great fortune. This implies a knowledge of solar signs and planetary astrology. In the *Kumārasambhava* (vii, 1) he uses *Jāmitra* the Hindu variant of Gk. *diametron*. Strictly it means the 7th sign from the *beginning*, but, as it was deemed to affect the daughter's fortune, it was derivatively applied as here in the sense also of 'auspicious to the daughter.' Now the Balance (*tola*), which always figures as a distinct sign in Hindu astrology, was unknown even to Hipparchus (c. 125 B. C.) and appears first in Ptolemy and Varro (c. 100 B. C.). Kālidāsa must therefore have lived after 100 B. C.

Of the Kalinga king alone, Kālidāsa says that he was the lord of the Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal—*Raghuvamśa*, vi, 57), while even his heroes, the Ikṣvaku, had their Sea power of Kalinga. realms bounded by the sea (*asamudra kṣitisandam*—*Ibid.*, canto 1); and in this connection the poet refers to the Spice Islands (*Raghuvamśa*, vi, 57). The reference here to the Kalinga colonisation of Sumatra in 75 B. C. is obvious. Kālidāsa must therefore have lived after 75 B. C.

Kālidāsa therefore lived between 75 and 25 B. C. This conclusion confirms the earliest tradition that the poet was a protégé of Vikramāditya Śākari of Ujjain, who gave his name to the Samvat era of 58 B. C. The *Jyotirvid-ābharaṇa* of 1242 A. C. claims to have been composed by the Kālidāsa of the *Raghuvamśa* in the court of Vikrama Śākāri of Ujjain in Kali 3068, i. e. 34 B. C. The claim must be false, as the work mentions Amara and Varāha of the 6th century A. C., but it proves at least that in 1242 A. C. Kālidāsa was believed to have been a protégé of Vikrama Śākari of 58 B. C. Again, Bhoja of c. 1050 A. C. quotes in his *Śrīgītā-prakāśa* a dialogue between Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya on the former's embassy to Kuntala, and his contemporary Kṣemendra actually men-

tions in his *Aucitya-vicāra-caricā* a work of Kālidāsa named *Kuntaleśvara-dantya*. Earlier still, Abhinanda says in his *Rāma-carita* that Kālidāsa gained his fame through the Śākāri. Kālidāsa's own testimony also seems to favour this tradition. Pāṇini (4, 3, 88) requires the suffix *īya* to be applied only to *dvandva* compounds. But we can construe the title of his *Vikramorvaśīya* only by *vikramena labdhā Urvaśi* etc. (Urvaśi attained by *valour*); as Vikrama was neither the name nor title of Purūravas, Kālidāsa evidently chooses to break a rule of Pāṇini so that he may indicate his patron Vikrama Śākāri.

Thus the earliest and most authentic traditions as the results of modern research point to the same Conclusion. conclusion that the poet was a protégé of Vikrama Śākāri of 58 B. C. and it may therefore be now accepted as established beyond all reasonable doubt.

K. G. SANKAR

Some old Bengali Books and Periodicals in the British Museum

While writing my *Bengali Literature 1800-1825*, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1919, I had no direct access to certain important printed Bengali books and periodicals of that period, which were not available in India and for which I had to rely on the information supplied by Grierson, Blumhardt and others. An opportunity of supplementing a part of this deficiency occurred later on in 1920-21, when I came across some of these early publications in the Bengali collection of the British Museum in London. I propose to give in the following pages a brief account of such interesting information as I could gather by examining these early documents.

1. *Herasim Lebedeff and his Bengali Plays*

The name of Herasim Lebedeff had been omitted through an oversight in my account of early European writers in Bengali ; and my attention was kindly drawn to this omission by Sir George Grierson in a letter to me dated June 11, 1920. Lebedeff is stated to have been a Russian, but more accurately he was a Ukraine peasant who visited London in the latter part of the 18th century. He came to Madras in the capacity of a bandmaster, and in 1787 arrived in Calcutta, where he appears to have learnt Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindustani. He published in London in 1801 a Hindustani Grammar which is a curious production and which is entitled "A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects, arranged according to the Brahmenian System of the Shamserit Language". On the title-page he gives a quotation from the *Vidyāsantar* ; and in the preface which contains his autobiography, he states that he wrote several Bengali plays, one of which was acted with great success on November 27, 1795. He does not mention the name of any of his Bengali plays. From old Calcutta publications it appears that a theatre was opened by Lebedeff in "Doomtolla" with the permission of the Governor-General in 1795. The locality of "Doomtolla" has not yet been identified ; some say that it was a street off Old China Bazar Street, while others think that it was the name of a locality at the opening of the Cosaitolla (or what is left of Bentinck Street of today) and was so named in those days on account of the jail and gallows situated there. The Theatre was advertised to open with a play entitled "The Disguise", the characters of which were to be of both sexes and which was to commence with an Indian Serenade and scenes decorated "in the Bengalee style". This was probably a play translated from English into Bengali. Lebedeff also appears to have translated another English play, entitled "Love is the Best Doctor" (is it an adaptation of Molière's well-known farce ?) into Bengali. He subsequently became 'Theatrical Manager to the Great

Moghul' and returned to England in 1800 or 1801. He was later sent to Russia by the London Ambassador, was employed in the Russian Foreign Office and subsidised by the Russian Government in founding a Sanskrit Press. He died in 1815¹.

II. *Mano l da Assumpcao's Bengali Dictionary and Grammar*

At p. 75 of my *Bengali Literature*, mention is made (chiefly on the authority of Grierson) of Manoel da Assumpcao's *Vocabulario* which is perhaps the first dictionary (with a short Grammar) of the Bengali language. This book was not available in any Library in India, but there are two copies in the British Museum, in one of which pp. 41-46 are missing. The title-page reads thus: VOCABULARIO/ EM IDIOMA/ BENGALLA/ E/ PORTUGUEZ/ Dividido em duas partes/ DEDICADO AO EXCELENT. E REVER. SENHOR/ D. FR. MIGUEL/ DE TAVORA/ Arcebispo de Evora do Concelho de sua Magestade/ Foy diligencia do Padre/ FR. MANOEL DA ASSUMPCAM/ Religioso Eremita de Santo Agostinho Congregacao/ da India Oriental. LISBOA/ Na Office. de FRANCISCO DA SYLVA/ Liveiro da Academia Real, e do Senado/ Anno. M. DCCXLIII/ Com todas as licencas necessarias/. The size of the book is duodecimo, convenient for the Missionary to carry in his pocket².

There is a short Preface (Prologo) in Portuguese at the beginning addressed to the Reader and the Young Missionary, calling upon the latter to learn Bengali. The author's object is to supply a short grammar with vocabulary, Bengali and Portuguese as well as Portuguese and Bengali : for a mission-

1 I am indebted for some information to Sir George Grierson and to a paragraph in the *Statesman*, Calcutta.

2 For information regarding the author and his other works in Bengali see my work referred to at pp. 69-76. A facsimile of the title page is given in Kedar Nath Majumdar's *Bāṅgālā Sāmāyik Sāhitya*, vol. i, p.17 ; the source of this facsimile is not indicated.

ary who is ignorant of the language of his congregation is no missionary at all. If it is objected that many of the congregation can speak Portuguese, it may be replied that many of them speak Bengali also, and there are some who cannot speak Portuguese. Below this Preface, there is the certificate of the censor Fr. George da Apresentação.

The work is divided roughly into three parts¹; and, as in his other work *Crepus Axtver Orthbbled* (কৃষ্ণার শব্দকোষ, ১৩৭), the whole is in Roman character, the words having been transliterated according to the rules of Portuguese pronunciation. The first part, pp. 1-10, consists of a brief compendium of Bengali Grammar (*Breve Compendio Grammatica Bengalla*), and gives us four Declensions of Nouns, followed by Pronoun (pp. 1-9), Relative and Interrogative Pronouns (pp. 9-11), Conjugation of Verbs (pp. 12-21), and Syntax (pp. 21-40). This is followed by the second part, which comprises the Vocabulary, Bengali and Portuguese, pp. 41-302. The total number of separate entries in this vocabulary amounts to over six thousand. Some peculiarities of East Bengal pronunciation (for the book was probably written in East Bengal where the author spent his missionary life and learnt the language) are curiously preserved in the (phonetically) transliterated Bengali words. After this come three short appendices, pp. 303-6, which deal with Bengali words (with Portuguese equivalents) indicating the attribute of God, names of planets, and terms used for the ten celestial signs. The Portuguese-Bengali Vocabulary comes thereafter and occupies pp. 307-577, followed by seven interesting appendices, in which we have words denoting (1) the days of the week,

1. I have not attempted here to appreciate the linguistic or lexicographical value of the work, as my friend Dr. Sunatikumar Chatterji, who has copied out the whole Grammar, made copious notes from the Vocabulary and has got facsimiles made of many interesting pages of the book, intends writing a fuller account of the subject with illustrations.

(2) numerals, (3) names of the seven planets, (4) names of the different Indian *sāstras*, viz., Agom Xastro (আগম শাস্ত্র), Puran Xastro (পুরাণ শাস্ত্র), Bhagbot (ভাগবত), Guita (গীতা), Torco Xastro (তর্ক শাস্ত্র, called argumentos sophisticos by the missionary), Niaco (! ন্যায়) Xastro (described as Trata de varios argumentos, contra Torco Xastro), Zoutex Xastro (জ্যোতিষ শাস্ত্র), Boidioc Xastro (বৈদ্যক শাস্ত্র), (5) the *yājitrī mantra*, quoted as Gatri dos Bramenes : Ongbhurbhoboxo, tothoxobitur bhoroniong bhorg de boxio dhimohi o ono pros-sodoiat, (6) the attributes of God etc.

III. Ellerton's Bible-translation and Catechism

Ellerton's Bengali version of the New Testament, which was begun long before Carey but which was not published till 1819 in Calcutta, is mentioned at p. 108, footnote, of my *Bengali Literature*. Some detailed description of the book is necessary, as it is probably the earliest attempt at translating the Bible into Bengali, if we do not take any account of Thomas's version which appears never to have been published.

The full title of the book appears thus on the title-page :

জগত্তারক / প্রভু যিশু খ্রীষ্টের মঙ্গল সমাচার / বাঙ্গালা ভাষাতে / রচিত /
এবং পরমেশ্বরের বাণী গ্রন্থ প্রচারার্থে . যে সকল মহাশয়েরা ইংলণ্ড দেশ ও
কম / জাশ্মানী প্রভৃতি পরদেশে একযুক্তি হইয়া / প্রবৃত্ত থাকে তাহারদিগের
প্রতি নিবেদিত / কলিকাতা হিন্দুস্তানি ছাপাখানায় ছাপা হইল / খ্রীষ্টের মে
ফিলিপ পেরেরা সাহেব / ইং ১৮১৯ সাল/

It contains a full translation of the gospels of Matthew (মঙ্গল-সমাচার মাতিউর রচিত pp. 1-128), Mark (pp. 129-213¹), Luke (pp. 215-350), John (pp. 351-453), the Acts of the Apostles (প্রেরিত্বের দের ক্রিয়া, pp. 455-546), the Epistles of Paul (to the Romans পাওলের পত্র রুমীরদিগকে pp. 547-637, also to Corinthians প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয়পত্র করিন্থারদিগকে pp. 639-725, to the Galatians গালাতীরদিগকে

1 The pagination is wrong in the British Museum copy ; it is continuous from 129 to 136, then again begins p. 129 going up to 136, then 145 : correct thereafter.

VOCABULARIO
EM IDIOMA
BENGALLA,
E
PORTUGUEZ.

Dividido em duas partes

DEDICADO
AO EXCELENT E REVER SENHOR.

D. F. MIGUEL
DE TAVORA

Arcebispo de Evora do Concelho de Sua Magestade.

Foy deligencia do Padre

F. R. MANOEL
DA ASSUMPC, AM

*Religioso Eremita de Santo Agostinho da Congrega-
ção da India Oriental.*



L I S B O A :

Na Offic. de FRANCISCO DA SYLVA.
Livreiro da Academia Real, e do senado.

Anno M. DCC. XLIII.

Com todas as licenças necessarias.

pp. 727-745 and so forth up to p. 873), Epistles of Jacob (যাকুবের সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 873-816), of Peter (পিটারের প্রথম also দ্বিতীয় সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 826-909), of John (যোহনের প্রথম also দ্বিতীয় ও তৃতীয় সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 910-928), of Jude (যুদার সাধারণ পত্র, pp. 928-932) and lastly the Revelation (দৈবপ্রকাশিত, pp. 932-993).

A specimen of its Bengali may be quoted here from the passage on the Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii, 35-52, p. 129)¹ :

তখন তাহারা তাকে ক্রুশেতে চড়াইয়া এবং গুলীবাট করিয়া তাহার পরিচ্ছেদ ভাগ ২ করিয়া লইল সেই কথা যেন পূর্ণ হয় যে ভবিষ্যৎ বক্তার দ্বারা উক্ত ছিল যে আমার বন্ধ তাহারা আপনাদের মতো পরিবর্তন করিল এবং আমার জামার কারণ গুলীবাট করিল। পবে তাহারা সেইখানে বসিয়া তাহারে প্রহারিতে থাকিল। এবং তাহার মস্তকেব উপর তাহার অপবাদের লেখন লাগাইয়া দিল যে এই যিশু যজ্ঞদোরদের রাজা। এবং তুই চোর তাহার সঙ্গে ক্রুশেতে চড়ান গেল এক জন দক্ষিণ পার্শ্বে ও অন্য জন বাম পার্শ্বে। এবং পথগামী সকল তাঁহাকে তিরস্কার করিতে লাগিল তাহারা আপনাদের মস্তক লাড়িয়া কহিল। ওরে মন্দিরের নাশক ও তাহার তিন দিনের মধ্যে [p. 129] নিষ্কাশ্য কারক তুই আপনার রক্ষা করিস যদি ঈশ্বরের পুত্র হইস তবে ক্রুশ হইতে নামিস। এবং প্রধান যাজকেরাও পরিহাস করিয়া অশ্লীল ও প্রাচীন লোকের সহিত বলিতে লাগিল। সে অত্যাচারীদের পরিত্রাণ করিল আপনার বীরত্ব (sic) করিতে পারিল না যদি সে যিশুরালের রাজা হয় তবে সে ক্রুশ হইতে এখন নামুক ও আমরা তাহাকে প্রত্যয় করিব। সে ঈশ্বরেতে বিশ্বাস করিল এখন গো উনি তাহার উদ্ধার করণ যদি তাহাকে রাখিতে চক্ষা করেন কেন না সে কহিল আমি ঈশ্বরের পুত্র। এবং যে চোরেরা তাহার সঙ্গে ক্রুশেতে চড়ান গেল তাহারাও তাহাকে সেইরূপ নিন্দা করিতে লাগিল। পবে তত প্রহর অবধি তিন প্রহর পর্যন্ত দেশ সমুদয় অন্ধকারাত হইল এবং তিন প্রহর সময়ে যিশু উচ্চৈঃস্বরে চোঁচাইতে লাগিলেন ঈলা ২ লামা শাবাক হনী অপাত্ত হে আমার ঈশ্বর তুমি কেন আমাকে ছাড়িয়া গিয়াছ। ইহা সে আশপাশ উপস্থিত লোকেরদের কেহ ২ শুনিয়া কহিল এই মনুষ্য ঈলিয়াকে স্মরণ করিতেছে। এবং তাহাদের এক জন শীঘ্র দৌড়িয়া এক ঢুকী মপত লইয়া ছিরকায় ভরিয়া দিয়া তাহা এক বেতের অগ্রভাগে লাগাইয়া তাহাকে পান করিতে দিল অতঃ সকল কহিল থাক থাক ঈলিয়া তাহাকে পরিদ্রব্য [p. 129] করিতে আসিবেন কিনা আমরা দেখি। যিশু উচ্চৈঃস্বরে চোঁচাইয়া প্রাণত্যাগ করিলেন।¹ তখন দেখ মন্দিরের পরদা উপর হইতে নামো পদাশু ফাটিয়া গিয়া

1 I have preserved the spelling and punctuation of the original.

দুইখান হাটল ও ভূমি কাঁপিতে লাগিল ও পর্বত ফাটিয়া গেল। এবং কবরস্থান উদলা হইয়া গেল ও অনেক পুণ্যবানেরদের গুপ্ত দেহ উঠিল।

Ellerton's other work, in the form of a Catechism or question and answer between a religious instructor and his pupil, gives an account of the Creation and of the First Ages from the Old Testament in the form of dialogues in Bengali and English. The title page reads thus : গুরুশিষ্যের প্রশ্নোত্তর ধারাতো/যষ্টিয়াদির বিবরণ। বাঙ্গালা আর ইংরেজী ভাষাতে। নয় অধ্যায়।/An account of/The Creation of the world/ and of the First Ages/in the form of/Dialogues/Between a Master and his Pupil/in/Bengalee and English/by J. Ellerton/Calcutta/ Printed for the Church Missionary Society/By P. Pereira at the Hindoostanee Press/1820.

As indicated, the book contains nine chapters, and there is a separate title-page and separate pagination to each chapter. The chapter-headings given below, both in English and in Bengali (as in the original), will give an idea of its contents.

- I. The Creation of the world (সৃষ্টির বিবরণ), pp. 1-23.
- II. The Fall of Man (আদমের পতন বিবরণ), pp. 1-27.
- III. An Account of the Increase of Adam's offspring. First Part (আদমের বংশবৃদ্ধির বিবরণ। প্রথম ভাগ।), pp. 1-39.
- IV. An Account of the Increase of Adam's offspring. Second Part (আদমের বংশবৃদ্ধি ও জলপ্রাবিতের বিবরণ। দ্বিতীয় ভাগ।), pp. 1-39.
- V. The History of Noah's Offspring and the Confusion of Tongues (নোহের বংশ বিবরণ এবং তাহাদের ভাষা ভঙ্গ হওনের বৃত্তান্ত), pp. 1-53.
- VI. The History of Abraham (আবরহামের বিবরণ), pp. 1-63.
- VII. The History of Abraham's Posterity, Isaac, Jacob etc. (আবরহামের বংশ ইশকাহাদির বিবরণ), pp. 1-67.
- VIII. The History of Jacob যাকুবের বিবরণ), pp. 1-65.
- IX. The History of Joseph and his Brethren (যুশফ ও তাহার ভ্রাতৃগণের বিবরণ), pp. 1-63.

The following short extract from ch. iii. p. 11 will give an idea of its style and language :

শিষ্য। তবে সত্য ভণ্ডি কেমন মহাশয় ও কি ২ লক্ষণেতে জানা যায়।

গুরু । সত্য ভক্তি যে জনেতে থাকে সে আপনার নিতান্ত লাখবত্তা জানিয়া নত্মাস্তঃকরণ হইয়া পরমেশ্বরের গুণ ও কস্মি এবং আপনায় তাহায় স্মৃষ্টিজকের সম্বন্ধ ও তাঁহা হইতে আপনার অত্যন্ত হিতপ্রাপ্তি এই সকলের প্রকৃত বোধ করিয়া পরমেশ্বরের নিকট সঙ্কোচপূর্ব্বক প্রেমাকন্দিত হইয়া পূজাদি দ্বারা আপনার সেই প্রেম ও কৃতার্থ জ্ঞান দেখাইতেছে এবং তাহার এই মত করা অতি কর্তব্য জানিয়া তাহার অণু অণু ফলাফলের কিম্বা ধন্যাধন্যের কিছু জ্ঞান করে না তাহার চিন্তা কেবল যে আপনার পূজাদি যেন ঈশ্বরের গ্রহণ যোগ্য হয়।

শিষ্য । এ অতি পরমা ভক্তি গুরো আব বুঝি যে হাবল (Abel) তিনি এমত ভক্ত ছিলেন।

গুরু । হে শিষ্য যে ভক্তি আমি বর্ণনা করিয়াছি সে তো সাধারণ ভক্তি এবং পাপী নিষ্পাপী সকল জীবতেই যোগ্য ও আবশ্যক বটে কিন্তু পাপজীবের ভক্তি যাহাতে যোগ্য ও উচিত ও ঈশ্বরের গ্ৰাহ্য হয় তাহার মধ্যে অনেক বিশেষ ভাব চাহে এই মত ভক্তি হাবলে ছিল।

(To be continued)

S. K. DE

Politics and Political History in the Mahabharata

II

General political condition of India

The original historical kernel of the great Epic gives us a detailed account of the Kuru rulers of that time and incidentally furnishes us with a contemporary general account of Indian states and clans and it is with this only that we are concerned. Before attempting to show the amount of popular authority and control over their princes or their government we may survey the political condition of India about the time of the Great War.

1. The whole of Northern India was divided into a number of states more or less independent as far as internal government was concerned but acknowledging the suzerainty of the paramount power of the day.

2. That the Madhyadeśa or the region round the Kuru country was regarded as the intellectual and also the cultural centre of the Aryans. The manners and customs of the people of the western border, e.g. those of Madras and Vāhikas, were looked down upon by the people of the central region. On the other hand, Eastern India was regarded as the land of the Śūdras par excellence, and this is apparent from the denunciation of Aṅga by the king of Madra. Aṅga and Vaṅga are described in at least more than one place as being ruled by a *mleccha* prince. In addition to these, some of the ruling Kṣatriya families are regarded as Vrātyas. The Yādavas who were the ruling race in the extreme south were a sort of oligarchic ruling confederation.

The form of government varied. In the west the old Aryan tribal principle was supreme and there were numerous petty states ruled by local princes who were guided in all matters by popular opinion. In the central region, e.g. in the land of the Kurus and Matsyas the rulers were princes in name only. In the Kuru country this popular sovereignty was so great that it is difficult to form easily an impression as to whether the government can be described as a true monarchy at all. It is only in the east that the princes had a greater chance of ruling irresponsibly. The large number of wild tribes differing from each other in language, religion, race and temperament, the large number of elephants, a potent instrument in ancient warfare found there in abundance, the cheapness of other materials required for a fighting force made it easy for the eastern princes to easily raise large armies with which to rule absolutely without even consulting the opinion of his subjects. The Aryan settlers were few and these consisted mainly of the ruling families and their hereditary officials, and hence there was no opposition from them. This made not only absolutism possible but fostered a lust for dominion outside the tribal territory which was the limit of domination in the west and centre of India. To this again must be attributed

the fact that the east was the land where imperialism took its rise—an imperialism which meant something more than mere suzerainty and was nothing less than universal rule to the exclusion of local princes and absolutism to its utmost limit.

In such a state of affairs, Jarāsandha the Magadha king thought of pursuing a policy of blood and iron. He had many allies, the most prominent of whom were Vāsudeva the king of Pundra and Vaṅga, Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa, and a number of central Indian rulers including the Cedi Śiśupāla and some of the Bhoja princes.

I. Having thus described the state of political development we proceed to cite evidence from the great epic in order to show the extent of popular sovereignty in those days. As regards the central region we take the Kuru country and describe its history in detail, because the Mahābhārata records the traditional history of the Kuru country. As to other states we only have some passing reference or some detail only when we are on the eve of the great war. Under the circumstances, lack of information prevents us from giving details as to most of the circumstances, except those relating to the Kurus.

II. For the South we must confine ourselves to the detailed description of the Yādava constitution and narrate some instances from Yādava history as recorded in the Epic to prove our point.

III. Lastly we must conclude by giving some details as to the tribal republics which retained their democratic constitution in the various parts of the country. These as a rule flourished on the frontier regions to the west and north or in the secluded areas. In the Mahābhārata these states are described as gaṇas. Of these we shall give a list, and this will be supplemented by short historical notices of each of them. But before we pass on to the other subjects we must make some attempt to describe their general characteristics e.g.

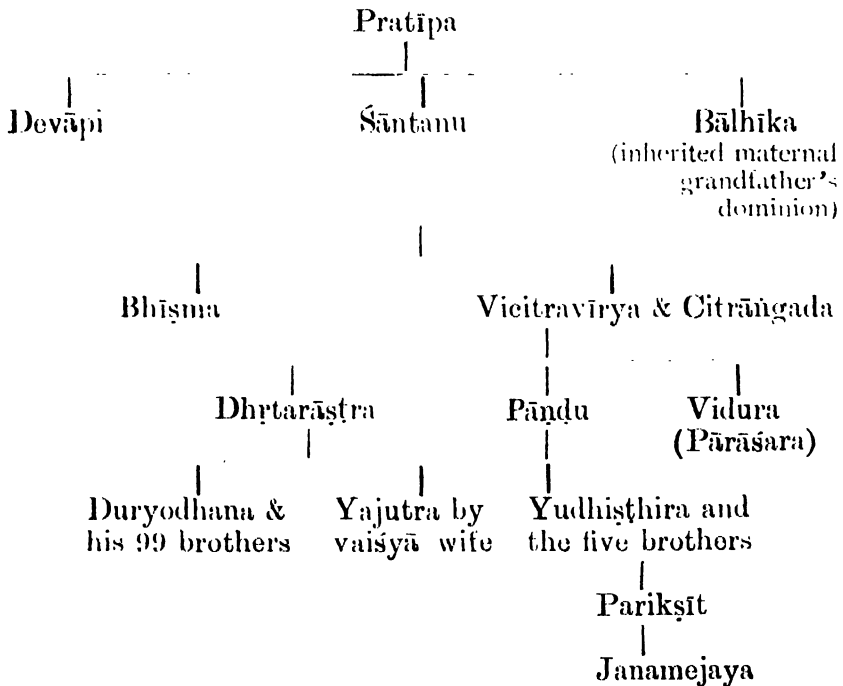
(1) They were outside the influence of their political forces, which operated in the Madhyadeśa.

(2) They were dominated by some tribe or members of one particular caste.

Thus the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Trigarta and some other gaṇas were mainly kṣatriyas. The Vātādhānas and the Mādhyamakeyas were Brāhmin gaṇas, while the Grāmaṇīyas of the Indus region and the Ābhīras on the bank of the Sarasvatī were Śūdras by caste.

The Kuru Country

To all readers of the Mahābhārata it would be apparent that the epic is primarily the history of the Kuru country ; for the historical kernel which forms now only a small fraction of the vast encyclopædia we have the traditional account of the reigns of five generations of the royal family.¹



1 A complete history of the Kuru line of kings as well as the relation of the Kurus to the earlier Vedic tribes is out of place here. But as we hold that the Mahābhārata is nothing but the traditional history of the Vedic period, we shall try to establish our point elsewhere. In

Now from the account recorded in the great epic we find that in the reign of each of these kings we have some constitutional event of importance to record, and from these we can form an idea as to the extent of popular sovereignty.

Pratīpa had three sons e.g. Devāpi, Bāhlika, and Śāntanu. Devāpi suffered from some skin disease. When old the king thought of installing Devāpi on the throne and made preparations for his investiture. Thereupon the Brahmins, the old people, and the citizens prevented him. They approached him and said that though the young prince was worthy and otherwise agreeable, he suffered from skin disease and was not acceptable to the gods.

Dissuaded by the force of their argument and the weight of their opinion the king had to give way and abandon the idea of crowning Devāpi. This however made him unhappy and he retired to the forest. On his withdrawal the second son Bāhlika became king for a time, but he too abdicated in favour of his younger brother Śāntanu who was crowned king by the people and the magnates.

Śāntanu's reign otherwise uneventful is marked towards its end by an event of constitutional importance. It was the voluntary abdication of his only legitimate son and heir to the throne the celebrated Bhīṣma. The king being smitten with love for the daughter of a fisherman, and yet not accepting her, on account of the hard terms proposed by the father of the girl, who insisted on the stipulation that the son of his daughter by the king would be the heir to the throne to the exclusion of the virtuous Bhīṣma, was in a difficult position. The dutiful son to fulfil his father's wishes boldly went to the fisherman, and asked him to bestow his daughter on the king, and to remove all objections on his part, he

the paper entitled "Early Indian Chronology" an attempt will be made to identify the rulers of the Kuru line as given in the Mahābhārata (Adiparva, Chs. 94 & 95) with the names of prince-, where names are found in the R̥gveda and the other Saṃhitās.

voluntarily renounced his claim to the throne in a Sabhā in the presence of the members. The whole story is given in the Ādi-parva, ch. 101. The whole thing took place in the presence of the members of the Sabhā. Śāntanu by this marriage had two sons Chitrāṅgadā and Vicitravīrya. The elder succeeded as king but soon he was killed in a war with the Gandhāras while the faithful Bhīṣma acted as the real ruler of the state, though ever he acted as the servant of the younger brother and administered the state, according to the counsel of his step-mother Satyawati.

Bhīṣma distinguished himself by his noble and disinterested service to the state and very soon he signalled his devotion by acquiring three brides for his step-brother Vicitravīrya (see Ādi, ch. 96). One of these brides Ambālikā was, however, sent back to her own kinsmen on account of her ontreaties that she had chosen the king of Kāśī as her lord.

This however proved a great misfortune for her. The king of Kāśī rejected her since she was the victory prize of another according to the customs of those days. Rejected by both the parties she in revenge implored the assistance of Rāma Jāmadagnya—the great champion of military brahminism, who came to persuade Bhīṣma to take her for one of his brothers. This being refused the two decided to appeal to the supreme arbitration of force and fought for several days.

The combat ended in a draw. The rest of the events is narrated in the Ādi-parva. But here again we meet with another event of constitutional importance which though not mentioned in the Ādi-parva is incidentally narrated in the Udyoga-parva which seems to have preserved the true historical account. In the 129th chapter of that Parva we have an account of the history of the Kuru country recorded by Bhīṣma himself. From that we know that Vicitravīrya who succeeded Śāntanu was too fond of woman and consequently fell a victim to Yakṣhma (Phthisis) and consumption, and at the

same time the Kuru country being invaded by the terrible Brahmin warrior Paraśurāma the king was banished by the citizens.

Next a pestilence broke out and carried away a large number of inhabitants and only a small portion of the population survived. There was no king, the government fell into disorder and the misery of the people knew no bounds. Thereupon the people headed by the elders approached Bhīṣma the rightful heir to the throne. They together with Kālī, the wife of Śāntanu (step-mother of Bhīṣma) besought the worthy prince to take up the reins of government and to save the country from destruction.

This however Bhīṣma refused. He reminded them of his vow (which he had taken before the assembly) of celibacy and of renunciation and persuaded the queen-mother to allow the widowed queens of the late sovereign to raise issue by the practice of Niyoga.

Of these three sons the eldest Dhṛtarāṣṭra was not eligible for kingship as he was blind (Udyoga, ch. 117, v. 38.). Vidura too was excluded being born of a slave-girl. Pāṇḍu became king though for a time Bhīṣma acted as a real ruler of the country.

Pāṇḍu however soon forsook the world and with his wives spent his time in the forest, making over his kingdom to his blind elder brother though this point is not clear in the account of the Ādi-parva (ch. 119). The story of the handing over of the kingdom to his brother by Pāṇḍu is again put in the 148th chapter in the mouth of Bharadvāja. Droṇa is the speaker with the statement that the people accepted Dhṛtarāṣṭra as king.

The blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra then became the next king. His claims thus rested on his brother's abdication and gift and popular sanction. Probably this popular support enabled him to rule, for there existed a section of elders, who never recognised him as king (Udyoga, ch. 147).

Thus it would appear from the ślokas that Dhṛtarāṣṭra

held the throne by virtue of his brother's abdication, and acceptance by the people. Some of the Kuru elders like Droṇa regarded Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a rightful king, though they never thought of this as constituting a bar to the succession of the Pāṇḍavas. Others like Bhīṣma regarded Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a mere figure-head representing royalty and sought to further the cause of the young prince the son of Pāṇḍu to the exclusion of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons.

(To be continued)

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJI

The Bhāsa Problem

II

III. Implications of the theory

There are certain implications connected with the theory which the Bhasites make much of and utilise to substantiate it. Because of the importance now attached to them, it behoves us to comment upon them. These implications may be put down to be three in number; and they are :

(A) the numerous archaisms, the apparently rugged simplicity of diction, and the queerness of Prākṛt are evidences to prove that the 'Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra' may be assigned to the age of Pāṇini ;

(B) the queer dramatic technique shows that they must have been produced before Bharata laid down the rules of dramaturgy in his Nāṭya Śāstra ;

(C) these dramas, thirteen in number, are the works of one and the same author, Bhāsa. These implications we shall now proceed to consider.

A. *Language evidence*

Mm. Ganapati Sastri praises high the sweet diction of these dramas, especially of Svapna Vāsavadatta and Pratimānāṭaka, dwells upon the so-called archaic flavour and draws pointed attention to the queerness of Prākṛt. Regarding the first of these, he is so much enamoured of it, that even Kālidāsa, the prince of poets, is, in his opinion, much indebted to him. While we can admire his consistency to his own theory, we regret we cannot bring ourselves to endorse his opinion, unless we yield to the glamour of a theory. Every scholar has his own opinion about literary works, and Mm. Sastri is perfectly entitled to have his own opinion, but when he proceeds to institute comparisons—and all comparisons of master poets are odious—when he proceeds to draw conclusions, when he utilises these comparisons and conclusions to bolster up a theory, it is time 'to register a protest' and remind him of the absurdity of his procedure. If the evidence of style is to be used as an argument to prove the age of a work, it behoves the theorist to first analyse the constituent elements of the different styles of the different ages and then to theorise. But no such analysis has yet been attempted, either by the editor, or his faithful adherents. Secondly, the probabilities of borrowing and copying have to be argued and established on a sufficiently satisfactory basis. In these matters mere dogmatic statements are of no value and deserve to be ignored. And lastly, a careful examination of the styles of these plays clearly shows that all the thirteen dramas cannot be assigned to the same age, much less to the same person. Thus while Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Pratimā belong to one type, Avimāraka and Pañcarātra belong to another, if the use of long-winded compounds and of long metres, the concluding of one verse by different speakers, the sacrifice of ideas amidst verbiage are of any significance.

Coming to archaisms, if the presence of non-Pāṇinian forms of words can give any archaic flavour, then these dramas can be said to possess it to a certain extent. But after all, are the

mistakes as many as have been pointed out ? For, of the existing solecisms many are accepted forms. Of the rest a majority may be put down to the illiteracy of the copyists and the actors. Further, the manuscripts of these dramas are after all not so rare, as Min. Sastri seems to imply. A sufficiently large number of copies is available here, and there is scope for a critical edition. And what the exact number is of the so-called archaisms could be settled, only after a variorum edition is prepared. And after all it is very doubtful, if archaic flavour arises out of merely grammatical mistakes, ancient or modern. If not, a drama, which I or you may write could easily be made the most ancient drama.

Coming to Prākṛt, we are afraid that scholars are possibly misled ; for they do not seem to have realised the queer position that Prākṛt has been occupying in Kerala. It must be pointed out and clearly emphasised that here it had only a purely literary and hence artificial existence. While elsewhere in India Prākṛt was being greatly influenced by the local vernaculars, here it never came under that influence. The only influence that was ever brought to bear upon it was that of Pāli, for Buddhism was once, during the early centuries of the Christian era, the religion of the land. Hence it is that the Prākṛt of these dramas appears to be queer. The representative type of this Prākṛt may be found in *Dharmajaya*, *Samvarana*, and *Cūḍāmaṇi*, which are purely Kerala productions. The same type is found copied even in the Prākṛt of *Śakuntalā* and other North Indian dramas, as found preserved in the ancient local manuscripts. Whatever has been said regarding the Prākṛt of the dramas included in the 'Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra' could as well be said of the Prākṛt of *Kālidāsa*, *Harṣa* or *Bhavabhūti*. Hence the queerness of Prākṛt, on which so much appears to have been said, reveals not its antiquity but its queer position in Kerala.

B. *The peculiar dramatic technique*

The second, and what is apparently the strongest of their

implications is the peculiar dramatic technique of the series of dramas included in the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra. But so far as we have been able to study them, the so called peculiarity centres round the prologue, and this, it deserves to be pointed out, is certainly queer to the casual reader. However, it is not such as would justify their being assigned to an age before Bharata. The peculiarities are three in number; (1) the opening of the drama with the sentence *nāndyante tatoh praviṣati sūtradhāraḥ*, (2) the omission of the names of the author and the work, and (3) the use of the term *sthāpanā* for *prastāvanā*.

The opening of the dramas of the series with the sentence “*nāndyante*” is made much of by the Bhasites. In drawing the conclusions necessary for their theory they quote the authority of Bāṇa who refers to the works of a Bhāsa in the following verse:

sūtradhāraḥkṛtārambhair nāṭakair bahubhūmikair,
sapatākair yaśo lebhe bhāso devakulair iva.

Interpreting this verse as lying down the characteristics of Bhāsa's dramas, they say that the first characteristic is opening the drama with the Sūtradhāra. Since the Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra opens with the Sūtradhāra, they say that this is an incontrovertible proof of Bhāsa's authorship. Even granting such an interpretation is correct, it has first to be settled as to which Bhāsa Bāṇa is referring to, the ancient one or the modern one. We incline to the view that Bāṇa is referring to his own contemporary, rather than to the predecessor of Kālidāsa. And after all what does Bāṇa mean? Unless and until we have at least one authentic drama of Bhāsa Bāṇa refers to, we cannot be quite certain of the exact significance of this verse. In the absence of anything authentic we can interpret it only in its natural way. We believe, and many local Pandits also are of the same opinion, that Bāṇa is here concerned only with the statement of the fact that Bhāsa has acquired fame by writing dramas, as much fame as he earned by building temples, and not with the laying down of

the peculiarities of Bhāsa's dramas. The three common qualifications cannot have much significance attached to them, for every drama has practically these three qualifications: it is the Sūtradhāra that opens it, there are many characters, and every drama has a *Patākā* incident or a *Patākā-sthāna*. In using these adjectives we believe that Bāṇa is only satiating his love of *śleṣa*. In view of this, the statement of Bāṇa could not be squeezed to yield any historical support for the Bhāsa theory, since, as it is, it is vague and indefinite for all historical purposes.

If at all any significance deserves to be attached to the opening words of these dramas, it is only this much: viz., that these dramas open not with the usual Nāndī-Sūtradhāra but with the Kathā-Sūtradhāra and that the dramatists' benedictory verse is sung not by the former, but by the latter. Dramaturgy demands two Sūtra-dhāras, one to perform the Nāndī and the other to announce the play. And Bharata himself has suggested a line of economy, when he says that both the Sūtradhāras have the same cast of character. In a place where there is a thriving theatre, it is but natural that the actors will try to reduce the characters to the lowest limit possible. This will necessary be a practice, when convention has ceased their work in demanding a full and regular Nāndī only on the opening day, and not subsequently, even when the drama is changed, provided the representation runs on the same stage without a break. Such a procedure—and it is so as far as the local stage is concerned—makes one overlook the intimate connection that exists between the Nāndī ceremony and the staging of a play. This, then, the local stage tradition is sufficient explanation for the opening of these dramas in that peculiar way. So strong has been the force of this tradition, that in ancient manuscripts here, every drama opens thus: even Śakuntalā is no exception. In view of this, all theorising from such an opening becomes irrelevant; if not, the number of Bhāsa's dramas could be easily swelled,

Another peculiarity of the Prologue, which the Bhasites point out and utilise to establish their theory, is the omission of the names of the author and the play. The explanation suggested and accepted (?) by them is that these thirteen dramas had come into existence before the practice of giving names came into vogue. This is only begging the question. We believe for a *prima facie* reason that these dramas have omitted these two, because they have no definite author and no definite name. Regarding Svapna-Vāsavadatta, enough has already been said to show that it is only an adaptation, and hence nobody could claim its authorship. The same, we hold, is true of Cārudatta. Coming to the indefiniteness of names, we find that Svapna-Vasavadatta has three names—Svapna-Nāṭaka, Svapna-Vāsavadatta and Vāsavadatta-Nāṭaka; Cārudatta is also known as Daridra Cārudatta, Pratimā Nāṭaka as Vicchinābhiseka and Pādukābhiseka, Karmabhāra as Karmakavaca, Dutavākya as Śrī kṛṣṇadūta. In the case of Avimāraka, Bīlacarita, Abhiseka and Pratijñā, one manuscript, the oldest in the local library, gives no names at all. This variety of names may probably be taken as an indication that the dramas are not genuine, but only adaptations. Since adaptations by their nature cannot have any names connected with them, the absence of names only proves their anonymity and not their antiquity.

In this connection I may be permitted to refer to another practice of the local professional actors; namely, the practice of giving a short introduction, when they change one scene of one drama to another of another drama. This introduction consists of a benedictory stanza and a short Cūrṇikā to announce the character that first appears on the stage, or the incident which is described in the scene to be enacted, and may be termed for want of a better expression 'Inter-Prologue.' Such Inter-Prologues, one Cakyar tells me they have for every one of the scenes they are trained to act. When a number of such 'Inter-Prologues' is obtain-

ed—and I have made arrangements for it—it may likely turn out that the editor's so-called Prologues are nothing but 'Inter-Prologues'¹. In which case it may be seen that the so-called peculiarity may only be the result of local stage tradition, and not a proof of antiquity.

Now coming to the last of the prologue peculiarities the use of *Sthāpanā* for *Prastāvanā*, in the first place it deserves to be pointed out that the local ancient manuscripts uniformly use only *Sthāpanā* and not *Prastāvanā*, whether they be the dramas included in the *Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra* or not. And such a usage is also sanctioned by *Bharata*. For the sentence "prastāvanām tataḥ kuryāt" there is found a variant which runs "sthāpanām ca tataḥ kuryāt". The usage of *Sthāpanā* instead of *Prastāvanā* in Kerala manuscript is, therefore, not a sign of antiquity, but this only shows that the Malayalees have accepted the second of the readings. And this, however, suggests a better critical taste for in what precedes *Bharata* says "sthāpakah praviśet tatra." Hence the use of the term *Sthāpanā* is also no argument in support of the *Bhāsa* theory.

C. *Unity of authorship*

The third of the implications, which is both a conclusion of, and an argument for, the theory is that all these thirteen dramas are the works of one and the same author, the renowned *Bhāsa* of old. This has already been invalidated, because ancient *Bhāsa* has not been yet proved to have written a drama named *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, and because *Mm. Sastri's* *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* is not genuine. We shall, therefore, in this section content ourselves with an examination of the nature of the argument by which *Mm. Sastri* tries to establish it.

1 The opening verse of the Inter-Prologue to announce the change to *Śephālikāṅka*, act IV of *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, is given in my notes to the translation of *Dūta-Ghaṭ*. Vide the *Shama*, vol. iv, no. 2, pp. 141-142.

The only argument that he has brought up is the presence of common sentences and verses. This is at best only a very dubious kind of evidence, when it is remembered that our professional actors, who have been acting all these thirteen dramas, are not very scrupulous in borrowing. They are and have always been quite ready to appropriate to themselves any good verse they come across anywhere¹; and because their hand is seen in these dramas, common expressions cannot be taken as an argument for unity of authorship. Secondly, the one principle that underlies Mm. Sastri's process of reasoning is the improbability of the Hindu writers being plagiarists. If Mm. Sastri accepts this principle as regards all standard writers and not merely of Bhāsa, we are forced to come to just the opposite conclusion. An examination of the prologue of Śakti Bhadra's Cudāmayi shows that there also is the sentence 'mayi vijñāpanavyagre'. And we believe it is a saner and more legitimate conclusion to assign these dramas to Śakti Bhadra than to presume that Śakti Bhadra has plagiarised from authorless and nameless dramas. This is enough we hope to prove the hollowness of Mm. Sastri's unity of authorship. In our opinion the presence of common sentences is a powerful argument to prove that these dramas are all playwrights' adaptations, made to meet the popular craving for new plays in the days, when the local Sanskrit stage was in a flourishing state.

Enough has now been said to prove that the implications connected with the theory stand on grounds as flimsy as those on which the theory is built up. The apparent peculiarities that we see in these dramas are not a sign of

1 A striking illustration of this can be found in the Rāmayaṇa Prabandham, which is composed of all the good verses in all the kāvyas and dramas which describe the story of Rama. Tradition says that Mahānāṭakam also is of the same type.

antiquity ; they are only a proof of their intimate connection with the local orthodox stage.

IV. Bhāsa-Nāṭaka Cakra renamed Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra

A study of the Kerala stage and its sources, as far as now available, shows that the dramas that have been or are popular on our stage are the following¹ : (i) Dhanañjaya (ii) Saṃvaraṇa, (iii) Cūḍamaṇi, (iv) Nāgānanda, (v) Bhagavadajjuka, (vi) Mattavilāsa Prahasana, (vii) Kalyāṇa Saughaṇṭika, (viii) Śrī Kṛṣṇa Carita, (ix) Vicchinnābhīṣeka, (x) Mahānāṭaka, and (xi)-(xxiii) the thirteen dramas of the so-called Bhāsa-Nāṭaka-Cakra. Of these, the first four, the seventh, the tenth and Pratimānāṭaka, locally known as Pādukābhīṣeka, Abhiṣekanāṭaka, also known as Valia-Abhiṣekam, and Mantraka of Pratijñā yaugandharāyaṇa are popular on our stage even to-day. The fifth must have been very popular here because a Cakyar's recension, with complete directions as how to act it, is available². The eighth is not yet available, though some actors say it is none other than Mm. Sastri's Bāucarita. This, however, is popular, because one act of this is well-known to them as Mallūka. Regarding the rest the various names given by Cakyars to the various acts are sufficient proof of their stage popularity ; for instance, Bhrama-Cāriaṅka, Pantattāṅka, Pūttuḍāṅka, Śephālikāṅka, Svapnāṅka and Citraphalakāṅka of Svapna-Vāsavadatta ; Anotṭāṅka, Dūtāṅka, Abhisarāṅka, Parvāṅka, and Māḍamettāṅka of Avimāraka ; Vettāṅka, Bhīṣma-dūtāṅka of Pañcarātra ; Bālivadha, Toranayuddha,

1 Nos. 3 and 4 are unpublished. Transcripts are being prepared with a view to publication. The ninth tradition ascribes to the last of the Perumals, Bhāskara Ravi Varmā. It is unknown, but I incline to believe that it is none other than Pratimā, the first act of this is locally called Vicchinnābhīṣeka.

2 A manuscript copy of this has been promised me by a Cakyar and I expect soon to have a copy of it.

Hanumaddūtāṅka, Māyā Sītāṅka and Abhiṣekāṅka of Abhiṣeka ; Vicchinūbhīṣekāṅka, Vilāpāṅka, Pratimāṅka, Adavyamaṅka, Rāvaṇāṅka, Bharatāṅka and Abhiṣekāṅka of Pratimā : Mahāsenāṅka, Mantrāṅka, Arāttāṅka of Pratijñā ; all the one act dramas, the Cakyars say, are used to be acted and is further proved by the fact that a manuscript, containing select scenes to be acted in a temple in Travancore has selections from these dramas¹. But so far I have not been able to gain any clue regarding the stage popularity of Cārudatta. But because this also is found together with the rest of the series in the local manuscripts, and such manuscripts the Cakyars term 'Nāṭaka-mālā', we may presume that also must once have been stage popular. And, when it is also remembered that all these thirteen dramas are found only in Kerala, and that in the houses of Cakyars or their patrons, that many copies of them offering a wonderful variety of readings are available even now, one may come to the legitimate conclusion that these are only dramas prepared for our stage some being original productions², such as Cūḍāmaṇi and others, playwrights' adaptations, such as Svapna-Vāsavadatta. In view of this, I make bold to suggest that the series may be renamed Kerala-Nāṭaka-Cakra.

I am now come to the end of my paper. In conclusion I wish to be permitted to point out that though the Bhāsa theory has been exploded, Mm. Sastri's services to the cause of Sanskrit are not to be belittled. It deserves to be rightly emphasised that but for his efforts, and here he was and is laudably encouraged by the Government of

1. Now in the possession of my esteemed friend Mr. A. K. Pisharodi, Trivandrum.

2. It appears to be very significant that the authentic dramas in the series have no names for the various acts except Cūḍāmaṇi the acts of which are named. Cannot this be taken as suggesting this anonymity ?

Travancore, this series of dramas would not have seen the light of day, at least not so early. And especially the thanks of all Malayalees are due to him, for it was reserved for him, a foreigner in the land, to open our eyes to this glorious heritage left by our forefathers. We also thank him for his theory, for otherwise it is unlikely that Sanskritists would have turned to these dramas so earnestly. Thus for more than one reason he deserves our thanks and this I offer unto him in the name of all Malayalees.

K. R. PISHAROTI

The Stotra Literature of Old India

Man's entry into the world launches him at once into a state of submission and surrender to cosmic forces; and this is true as much of man as an individual, as of his being an entity of a group or a group of interests. And it is a paradox that his strength lies in and arises out of this inherent weakness of his. There can be no greater proof of this inevitable fact than what we meet with in literature. The earliest literature of India, and for the matter of that, of the human species—in which, however, man is far from primitive and shows a varied substratum of culture—contains indelible traces of how the primary (immediate) feelings of the poet in him open out a vista of grandeur and sublimity, a scene of sweetness and serenity, in which he himself shines best in the *role* of an humble and cheerful devotee. It may seem dogmatic to assert that the Vedic Aryan's religion was feeling, pure and simple at the early stage of its manifestation and it is now unanimously held by scholars that *R̥gvedic Samhitā* is a composition of different states of consciousness of varying degrees, the product of many centuries of thought or prayer—that his *Uṇṣanī* was *upa ṛsana*, literally sitting near, near his worldly environment as well as his supermundane mind but it is nevertheless true, as true as any psychological truth. Equipped with a rosy view of life and its relations, and not cowed down into sullen renunciation, born of disgust and despair, which has found

a significant expression in proverbs of a later age such as *namas tat karmabhyo vidhir api na rebhyaḥ prabhavati*, the Vedic Aryan approaches his gods with meek submission, intertwines them with his own self, and gathers strength on and on. Many a *Stotra*¹, *Udgīta*, *Uktha*, *Śāstra*, *Stoma* may be cited to show how this spirit of submission, little affected or caused by a layer of imbedded intellectuality, operated as *the factor* in his religious life.

But this was not long to be. He could ill help participating in the fruits of the "Forbidden Tree" and with the dawn of intellectuality in him, life assumed a sterner and more exacting aspect. His religious leaning did not become sullen, sombre all at once; it became more practical, of the more matter of the world type. His gods became less 'transcendent', more needy, watchful and sensitive, greater task-masters, and with the lapse of time, as he fancied, less ready helpers to him. From *karma* or *kratu* (Gr. *kratō*)—a duty—carried on through the sacrifices, an attention to which form a striking element in the evolution of the mind of the Vedic *ṛṣi* (seer), sacrifices, as bargain with the gods at stipulated prices, a surrender to which is a religious factor or mythic speculation is conspicuous in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and in the bulk of the *Sūtra* literature,—to the *niḥśṛṅkṣa* hint of it in the *Upaniṣads* and insisted on as a *sine qua non* in the many philosophical *sūtras* or to the revolt from the orthodox ways of thinking and doing, which culminated in other rationalistic forms of religion is a long but a logical step-by-step way, of which the *modus operandi*, the incidental and accidental causes do not concern us here. A cursory glance at the process by which hymn, the primary religious feeling-note in which is too obvious to escape notice, were incorporated in (and, of course, pierced through) and subordinated to sacrifices, or were regularly and ingeniously introduced into the less formal daily practices of the average Hindu, would go to prove how *dharma* was going to lose its vocation, or to say,

1 RV. I. 5. 8; X. 58. 11 etc. *Yad enam yajbhiḥ samsanti yajurbhiḥ yajanti sāmabhiḥ stuvanti*—Ya ka. *Śataru drīya* is a collection of 100 *udgīthas* later used for other purposes (e.g. *Śānti* and phallic worship in Sivapurāṇa).

2 Cf. Śaunaka's *Āgviśākhā* for a full reference to these applications. Cf. also his statement at the beginning of the work; *yajbhiḥ vividhā mantrā dīṣṭā dīṣṭaprayajantī* and his ingenious attempt to in

becoming more and more a matter of the intellect, speculations often grotesque and fantastic, in a word, losing hold of its universal sway. The incidental references in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Gṛhya* and *Śrauta Sūtras* would convince us that the hymns had well-nigh foregone their appealing nature, they had become stereotyped into implements of almost as much avail as the *udūkhala*, *muṣala*, *soma*, etc ; or lost themselves into a catechism of symbols, charm and incantations, their part wherein was growing more and more subordinate and supplementary. The heavenly heroes, the *shining* ones (*devāḥ*), be they the transformations of living gods or the personifications of pantheistic forces, were fast fading away, and the mind of the average Hindu, perhaps as much as that of his more gifted and intelligent brethren, was yearning for something of a concrete manifestation, in which he could well satiate his growing thirst for the quest of the Infinite.

This period of stress and strain was followed by one, in which the rational element had to tone itself down to give scope to the so long latent tendencies of devotional fervour and personal submission. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* came as welcome relief,—as nucleus to the then budding modes of thought as reflected in literature. But they could not satisfy the yearning they were called on to ; they only intensified it, for in spite of their professed treatment of the living heroes, their heritage of and close participation in the tendencies of the preceding age (one of them even categorically styles itself the fifth *Veda*) could well be looked upon as disqualifications. It is in the *Purāṇas* which have carried to a degree of nicety the concrete, narrative and active tendencies of the two great epics that the old Hinduism of feeling and fervour re-asserted itself. The stereotyped forms and practices of the preceding age left little room for real worship—the efficiency of *Praṇava*³ and of the *Gāyatrī*

corporate the *pañcamahāvratas* (*Kyechra*, *Parāka* etc.) of the later monastic codes into the Vedic ritualistic system.

3 Cf. the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* III. 12. So also in *Chāndogya* I. 1 ; I. 5. The ingenuous way of rather allegorical or symbolic interpretations given to them in the earlier *Upaniṣads* go to prove that they were going to lose their old esteem in the eyes of even the intelligent : *samastasya khatu sāmna upāsanaṃ sādhu yat khalu sādhu tat sāmetyācakṣate yat asādhu tad asūmeti.....Kalpānte cāsmāi lokā*

was insisted on; but nothing further could be done with the old *stotras* or hymns. They could not be divested of the heap or crust of wild speculations gathered over them; and, with the lapse of time and the prevalence of current speech (*bhāṣā*), they were becoming unintelligible to the masses. Something more was necessary to fill in the gap and have the ground for real popular *apāsana*. Thus the *Stotra* literature was resuscitated and got a new lease of life granted to it. The philosophical doctrines of transmigration, cycle of existences, of *karma* and salvation were availed of in the theory of incarnation (*avatāra-vāda*), which formed a stable plank in the *Paurāṇika* theology and an abiding place for sentiments of humility and submission. The code of worship was revised in the light of these ideas and ideals, and included *vandanā*, of which *Stava-stuti* ere long formed an essential ingredient. The *Purāṇas* became charged with this spirit of devotional fervour—the angle of vision as to life was changed and even literature of professedly secular type (e. g. the *Kāśīya poetry*), bedewed itself with this spirit. As apt instances, indicating the tendencies which have ever since been harped on by generations of poets, we may cite the two *Stavas* by the gods of the Supreme Being in Kālidāsa's *Raghu* and *Kaṁṭha*, the *Stavas* of the great Mahādeva by Arjuna in the closing canto of the *Kirātārjunya*, that of Kṛṣṇa by Bhīṣma in canto XIV of the *Sisupālavadha*, of the long *stava* (extending over 164 verses) of the great Gaṇḍi by the gods in Rājānaka Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (canto XLVII).

The *Tantra* literature with its many manifestations and cogent adjuncts carried on the torch of popular and devotional religion and was thus a parallel phase with the *Purāṇas* in this direction. The *Tantras*, in spite of the mysticism of their basic principles and the queer, irregular, often illegitimate character of their rites and practices, got hold over the popular mind from about the third century A. D. because of the wide franchise they preached in religious matters—(man irrespective of his caste, creed and sex could be an initiate in the *Tāntrik* order),—and of the novel mode of thinking they represented as distinctly opposite to the liturgical spirit of later Vedic Hinduism. The *Vastu* as much as the *Puruṣa Tantras* were availed of with avidity by saints and philosophers all over the country, and man's outer environment, and his material aggrandisement, no less than his inner

ṇṛddhvāścāvṛttaśca ya etad evaṃ vidvān lokeṣu paṇḍitāṁ sāmopāste.
Cf. also the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, *Śikṣādhyaṣya*, *Anuvāka* 5.

spirit and final (great) liberation became real entities in the counter of the religious devotee. The *Purāṇas*, which in their earlier phases of evolution were almost confined to the theory of culmination in *Bhakti*-spirit, must have been influenced by this growing *Tāntrik* creed, as in many of them we find the same strain and importance laid on the worship of gross cosmic forces. All this coupled with an ever sustaining belief in the influences of the planets (*grahas*), the most direct and visualised (*śā*) agents of man's outer environment, gave an impetus to the humble and resourceful spirit of prayer, and produced a mass of religious hymns, which have vied in intensity of feeling and sincerity of purpose with the earlier hymns of the inspired sages and outnumbered them in volume and value. The *Varman* (armour) an exquisite instance of which is the *Nārāyaṇavarman*¹ in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and the *Kavaca* (lit. coat of mail in its many categories, such as the *bhāvakavā*, *vajrapāñjara*, *trailokya-vihāra*, *ābhāva-dhara*, *mṛtyuñjaya*, *graha-sānti*, with their *jāpas* of mystic syllables (*bijas*), which, again, in a later age and with more sensitive temperament, were replaced by *Kīrtana*—is to the orthodox Hindu as much a part of his *Stotra* literature, as the more poetic, contemplative, less practical and monotonous pieces and have exercised no less an influence in the framing of the complex tissue of Hindu social and moral life.

The manuscript collections, which are now being rather assiduously made in the different parts of India, afford testimony to the wealth and universality of this literature. We in Bengal very rarely find a load of disintegrated book-units, in which there is not an index or appendage of *Stotras*, serving as the family reference book for familiar every day use. It would be idle ingenuity to explain this fact away by saying that these collections do, more often than not, come from *Brāhmaṇa-paṇḍit* families and represent the

1 *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, VI. 8.

2 Cf. The instructions about *japa*, *stava*, *etc.* in the *Tantrasāra—Jāpaniśtho devīśāśreṣṭho' khilayajñaphalam labhet*. The efficacy of *Paurāṇik* and *Tāntrik mantras* as contrasted with the nonefficacy of earlier hymns and syllables ascribed to the Vedic *ṛsis* is a constantly harped on theme in the writings of these ages, Cf. *Mahānirvāṇatantra*, II. 14&16:—It is superfluous to add that the *mantras* in this text mean *stotras* as well; for there is hardly any *Tāntrik* work or mode of worship which does not mention hymns as essential requisites.

sum-total of what they were called upon to use and cite in the quest of their maintenance. That is a point contradicted by history as much as by the rigid tradition of many a family, which has chosen to die away rather than take to *yājñā* as a means of subsistence. Moreover, many of the *Stotras* preserved in such collections, being *anūrseya* and recognised in standard ritualistic works of the Paurāṇik period, could hardly have been meant to be stereotyped for such use. It was individualistic tendencies that gave them being, and strange as it may seem to assert, it was individualistic appeal again that guaranteed them currency and life. The hundreds of copies, analogues, amplifications, etc. in this department of literature that have taken little notice even of the change in the outlook on life, afford proofs, if proofs are necessary, of this fact; indeed, the soil of India has ever been congenial for the springing up of these tendencies. Besides the *Purāṇas*, amongst which the *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Maṇḍana*, *Padma*, *Skanda*, *Bhāgavata*, *Brahmavaivārta*, *Viṣṇubharmottara*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Devābhāgavata* and the *Bhagvatsūktā* may be singled out as the store-house of these *Stotras*, the *Tantras*, of which the *Jaina saṃkalitā*, *Mahānirvāṇa*, *Prapañcasāra*, *Brahmayāmaka*, *Rādhayāmaka*, *Varāṇsi*, *Bhairava*, *Viśvasāra*, *Saradātīlaka*, and in later times, the *Nilatantra*, *Tantrasāra* may be regarded as fair specimens, contain the occasional classical-unitary *Stotras* like the *Mahimnah stotra* and *Mukundamālā*. There must have been collection and compilation, as is evident from a cursory glance at their grouping in works like the *Tantrasāra* and the *Pāñcubandhas*, of lesser stotra, of doubtful authorship handed down to us from a remote date. The *Biḥatstetra ratnākara*, *Biḥatstetramuktāhāra*, and *Biḥatstavakara-amala*¹ (which, by the bye, is a fairly exhaustive collection and is far better edited and arranged than many other works printed in Bengal), each of which has run into several editions, only testify to the value the average Hindu still attaches to this department of literature.

A mere glance at the index of these printed anthologies is enough to lead us to the impression that the old division of *Pañca Devatā*² (that the so-called Paurāṇik Trinity was more or less a philosophical or theoretical doctrine is evident from the study of the code of worship of these days; indeed, as is well known, one of these

1 *Āryadharmagrānthāvalī*, III (8th ed., Calcutta).

2 Cf. *Gauṣamahimnah Stotra*.

three deities *Brahmā* was almost given the go-by, and the paucity or rather lack of *stotras* addressed to him in his personal capacity and the absence of a cult associated with him are sufficient evidences thereof)—has been a working hypothesis and a worked up plan all along. Gaṇapati, or in his more familiar South Indian name *Dhūṇḍirājā* has got a tolerable number of *stotras* dedicated to him—he is *Jyēṣṭha*, *Kapila*, *Cintāmaṇi*, *Mayūreśa*, *Siddhiāṭṭ*, *Vināyaka*, *Vighnarāja*, *Vighnāntaka*, *Śeṣaputra*, *Pāśvoputra*¹. Then comes Surya or Savitṛ with his old Vedic and neo-Vedic associations but with more of flexibility and materialism. He is best represented in the later Paurāṇik *Ādityahṛdaya* of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, a classic in point of real poetry, and a memorable *Stotra* by way of the indication of the different phases of *Vedic*, *Paurāṇik* and *Tāntrik* conception in the culmination of the idea of the Great Being. With him is tagged the group of the other minor *Grahas*, who are often regarded as his manifestations (Cf. the *Ādityahṛdaya* itself²) and who typify the influences of the cosmic forces on man. The place of honour seems to be divided between the other three, Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu, though one is tempted to give the laurel to Śiva, seeing that he is best represented in devotional lyric literature; and as an analogue of Rudra of the Vedic pantheon, he has acquired in the Paurāṇik period more appealing, spiritual and agreeable characteristics, and has risen to the highest position amongst gods in many of the hymns addressed to him. He is *mahēśa*, *mahadeva*, *śaṅkara*, *varāhara*, *paśupati* as much as he is *rudra*, *mahākāla*, *kara*, *sthānu*, *śūlapāṇi*. The wisest and strongest, including the greatest gods Brahma and Viṣṇu, the terrible demon Ravana, lord of Laṅkā, and saintly seers amongst men, legendary and historical, such as Vyasa and Śaṅkara, are said to have offered their heart's devotion to him. Viṣṇu rises out of his Vedic nucleus into the greatest of the gods; he is far ahead of the other Paurāṇik deities, incarnate in no less than ten forms, each of which receives its share of offering from the devotional lyricist, and among which Rāma has a unique place with his

1 Ibid. Also *Gaṇeśāṣṭottaraśatanāmastotra*. Similar references hold good for other gods. Not improbably Paurāṇik Gaṇapati was moulded out of the Vedic Brahmanaspati or Brhaspati (Cf. ṚV., II, 23, 1).

2 Verses 34-39.

3 Cf. the *Śivatāṇḍava-stotra*; *Brahmakṛta Śivastotra*, etc.

relations, friends and devotees including the great monkey General Mahāvira Hanūmat,—and in the form Kṛṣṇa, transcending all limitations of an *avatāra*, and standing, second only, if at all, to Śiva, in point of the place occupied by him in this literature. The two *stavas* of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations current in Bengal—the one by Jayadeva, the melodious bard of Lakṣmāṇa Sena's time, the other of unknown authorship but apparently pre-Muhammadan—form a type by themselves. We have other *stavas* where each *avatāra* of Viṣṇu (with the doubtful exception of Buddha? who has had, however, *stavas* dedicated to him in Buddhist literature) is invoked separately. He is the *brahmanyadēva*, *kīrtiyāga*, *prasa*, *avata*, *harī*, *govinda*; again he is the *trīpikrama* of Vedic fame, *jāyantaka* of eternal sanctity, and *pāṇḍurāṅga* of the Deccan. Śakti with her manifold names of the *Purāṇa* and the *Tantra* has hundreds of *stavas* to her credit. She is the mother of the universe with sixteen names and functions; she is *mahīṣaganḍīnī*, *dhakṣiṇakālī*; and *vagatāmukhī*.¹ Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are sometimes described as her daughters; while the latter has got *stotras*, not many, addressed to her, the former, the goddess of speech, is very poor in eulogies in her honour in later times.² Minor deities of the later Purāṇas (such as *Saṣṭhī*, *Śitalā*, *Manasā*, *Vāstubhava*), that have been born of

1 *Āditya valīh* etc. quoted in the *Sāradātīlaka* and found also in the *Tantrasāra*. The 'Bhujāṅgaprayatā-stotra' attributed to Śaṅkara is presumably a later production.

2 Cf. Poussin's *Way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 63: "But it happens that an ascetic, for instance, the Buddhist of the *Mahāyāna* school, believes that gods or deified saints may help him toward the path, or even in climbing along the first slopes of the path: prayer and worship are, in such a case, useful or even necessary."

3 As the *Śāktānandatarāṅginī* puts it, she, being the *mahādevī*, enters into all forms as *Sarasvatī*, *Lakṣmī*, *Gayatrī*, *Tripuṇḍrā*, *Anna-pūrṇā* and into her more popularly known manifestation, the *dhāma-mahāvidyās*. There are but *avatāras* of the great *brahman*, *tanus* in the language of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. *Ibid.*, Ullāsa IV, 12 and 16; she is the prototype of the Vedic deities *Śrī*, *Vāc*, etc.

4 We have both direct and indirect invocations of her in the Vedic hymns. (e. g. x, 58). The Tāntrik *stava* of Sarasvatī, hrīṇ hrīṇ hrīdyekabīḥ śaśirucikamalabhīrajamāne vimāne etc. translated by A. Avalon in the *Hymn to the Goddess* and that of her as part and parcel of

the synthesis of the Paurāṇik and the Tāntrik orders have their share ; even the rivers of India (consistently with the custom of the Vedic *ṛṣis* but more directly and significantly) such as the Gaṅga, the Yamuna, the Godāvarī, the Narmadā and the localised deities such as *Vīṣva-nātha*, *Annapūrṇā*, *Maṇikarṇika*, *Kālābhairava*, *Daṇḍapāṇi*, *Vṛkaṭeśa*, *Śrīraṅganātha* are recipients of devotional offerings in the shape of fine *stotras*.

While the task of compiling and arranging these *Stotras* has thus been comparatively easy, the task of allocating them to their proper time and authors is by no means an easy one. The inherent difficulty of the historian of Sanskrit literature has been increased here for at least two obvious reasons,—first, the writers of most of these gems of lyrics cared little for making themselves known even by their names, whom several of whom use *nom-de-plumes* ; secondly, there was hardly much scope for a close study of many of them, for readers are liable to miss their real nature (and the charm is broken) when they are brought within the range of the intellect. But it would be unfortunate if we are to dismiss them altogether as things of never to be determined origin. On the other hand, the internal and external evidences regarding many of them, and the direct testimony from some of them, especially of late origin, do actually help us in surmounting difficulties on this head ; and contrary to general apprehensions, it would seem that the bulk of these productions, about sixty per-cent of them, dates backwards from about the 12th century, that is, are pre-Muhamadan, while not a few of them can claim a still remoter antiquity (from the 8th to the 10th century). From the standpoint of their age, these lyrics may conveniently be divided into the following groups:—(i) Those that are found in the inexhaustible store-houses of the *Purāṇas*, *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, *Nārada-pañcārātra* and the *Tantras*—it would be idle to dispute the fact that at least three-fourths of such lyrics are pre-Muhamadan. (ii) No less than hundred *stotras*, which are fathered on the great Śaṅkarācārya. It would be the height of temerity to assert that not one of them came from the great Vedantist philosopher of the 8th century, for to compose *Stotras*, dealing with many gods and goddesses is certainly a thing not irreconcilable with holding a brief for undiluted monism,—indeed it is held by many that no less than

Triparā in the *Prapañcasāra* (VIII, 64-76.) (Vanivilas Press edn.) form notable exceptions.

half a dozen¹ are from his pen. It goes without saying however that the majority came from later Śāṅkarācāryas, later teachers belonging to the school of the great philosopher, and often, the occupants of the places of honour in the several *maṭhas*, and even from people who have had no pretensions to that title and conceded their littleness of status and learning under the shelter of a great name². (iii) The relatively few classical *stotras* like *Sivamahimnah stotra* of Puṣpadanta (the *Gauṣa mahimnah stotra*, though ascribed to Puṣpadanta is presumably of later redaction, and the *Viṣṇumahimnah stotra* does not even profess to claim the antiquity of being associated with Puṣpadanta) and the *Mukunḍamālā* of the king Kulasekhara. Puṣpadanta or Kusumadaśana (the apparently plausible surmise of a

1 The hymn to the Gaṅgā (*Bhagavati tava tva nīlāmbāśanāḥam* etc. pp. 101-103, vol. 18), that to Annapūrṇā (nityamandakārī etc., pp. 75-78, vol. 18), even now sung during the *ārati* of the great mother at Benares, the *Velasāra Śīva* stotra in *Bhujāṅgaprayāta* metre (pp. 71-73, vol. 17), the *Carpalāpanjarikā* hymn, the *Ānanda-lakṣmī* (pp. 125-50, vol. 17) and that excellent short gem the *Kāṭyāvanaka* (pp. 113-44, vol. 18) may safely be ascribed to the great Vedāntist himself.

2 Cf. the names Adīśāṅkara, Abhinavaśāṅkara etc. as names of these writers. The *biruḥas* (appellation) *draviḍaśiṣu*, *śāṅkaramūrti*, *bhagavat*, found in some of these hymns may serve to distinguish them from many of their inferior imitations. We should, however, be on our guard against the universal ascription of authorship on each ground; for titles and claims of honour have been in the past, as they are now, assumed and served to conceal persons rather than to identify them. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jahlapa (13th century A. D.) ascribes the following verse to Rājāśekhara (probably the reference is to the dramatist and rhetorician):—

Sthitā mādhyikapākatyānnisargamadhuraḥpi hi,

Kimapi svadate vaṇi keśānid yadi Śāṅkara.

The verse brings to a head the controversy about the different Śāṅkaras and hints at the fact that more than one Śāṅkara preceded him and wrote *stotras* in this new style (*pāka*). As an apt instance of internal evidence throwing doubts about the authorship we have the verse in the *Viṣṇu-ālpaṭi* (*satyapi bheda-pagame nathā tavāham*) which one may justly hesitate to ascribe to the great Vedāntist. The Tantrik writer Śāṅkara of Bengal forms a separate class by himself; to him to have been ascribed a few *stotras* of indifferent merit.

writer in the Indian Antiquary of only a few years ago that his name was Grahila is only a perverted way of taking the text and has been due perhaps to the editor of the *Yasastilaka campū* printing the word in bold types)¹ cannot be assigned a date earlier than the 7th century and later than the middle of the 10th century A. D.² If the tradition current about him at Benares³ has any foundation of reality and if the last verse in *anustubh*⁴ metre had been originally a part of the *Stotra* itself, then there comes no difficulty in assigning him at least to the early decades of the 9th century. *Mukundamālā* is quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha as a well-known composition⁵. (iv) The *Śatukas* like the *Devī Śataka* of Anandavardhana, the *Caṇḍīśataka* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the well-known *Sūryaśataka* of the poet Mayura, all of which represent a fixed type of literary tendency and belong to the purely or obtrusively literary wing of the literature on the subject;—these are of fixed periods (7th-9th century A. D.). (v) Those of a *cūrṇaka* type,—and these number many,—sometimes of doubtful authorship often attributed to great names like Kalidāsa, Vyāsa, Vālmiki, etc.,

1 In *Īśvara*, V (vol. II, p. 258) the rathaḥ kṣaṇm yantā... (verse 18 of the stotra has been described as grahila-ya bhāṣitam (grahila = importunate). Cf. *Naiṣadha* II, pravasāda grahileva manini. The *Yasastilaka*, according to its author, was composed in A. D. 959.

2 Jayantabhaṭṭa of Kashmir (circa 10th century A. D.) the father of the Gauḍa Abhinanda, in his *Āpāyamañjarī*, refers presumably to Puṣpadanta when he says :—Puṣpadantopyāha bhraṣṭaḥ śapena devyāḥ śivapuravasater vandyaham mandabhāgyo bhavyam vā..... There is however a discrepancy here and that is about the imprecator of the curse.

3 Jagannātha cakravartin, one of the many commentators on the stotra refers to it, though none the less, he makes a mystery of it in his introduction to the commentary thereon. (Vide A. Avalon's ed.).

4 Ityeṣa vaimayī pūjā śrīmacchankarapādayoḥ, arpitā tena deveśaḥ priyātāṇca sadaśivāḥ. The claim to an earlier date rests on the term Śrīmat as applied to Śaṅkara. It does not matter much whether this verse along with the seven preceding it formed part of that of the original stotra or not, for the tradition itself is valuable.

5 Under 'bhāva = devādiviśayā ratih. chap. III. Vide also *Kāvya mālā*, I (1886).

sometimes anonymous, a few of which like the *Sūryāya Stotra*¹ (*Ravigāthā*) attributed to Yājñavalkya, the *Śrīstotra* by Upamanyu, the *Viṣṇu śatpadī* wrongly ascribed to the Vedantist Śaṅkaracarya, can, by the internal evidences of the preponderance of the purely kāvya style, of metrical peculiarities, and of later copyings be roughly assigned to dates earlier than the 10th century. (vi) *Stotras* by later writers (e.g. Līlāśuka or Vilvamaṅgala, Śrīcāitanya Jagannātha Paṇḍita, whose dates are matters of almost historical certainty. There certainly remain several stotras which are still ubiquitous and it is in the light of their historical, social, philosophical, as much as literary bearings that they are to be studied in order to fix the period of their composition.

Here we must take account of the value which the student of the history of ancient India and her culture should attach to these stotras. It is a truism to assert that history takes as much account of society as of politics, or to be nearer the mark, the social element in the history of India is no less important than the political element; but it often comes as an unwelcome surprise that while the *Bṛāhmaṇas*, the *Śrauta* and the *Gṛhya sūtra* are availed of with avidity by the modern student of history, there is still a rather gross neglect of the *nibāṇthas* and allied literature of a later age. The stotras certainly form an important link in the chain of the intricacies of religious evolution. So much from the analytic view of life. But their claims to rank high in the estimation of the student of history rest no less on the synthetic and constructive aspects of life presented by them. Western scholar for the last fifty years or more have consistently and steadily complained of the lack of the spirit of manly effort in the classical literature of India and have, in their way, deprecated the tone of submission and self-surrender, so often traceable even in poetry other than professedly religious. Dr. Keith in his recent manual on *Classical Sanskrit Literature* where he has given a very brief account of the devotional lyrics has in his masterly way drawn attention to the other side of the picture as well which is the ideal with which the old Indian, to whatever school of thought or creed he may

1 Cf. *nīdhīreṣa daridhrāṇāṃ rogiṇāṃ paramaṃśulham, siddhiḥ sakalakāryāṇāṃ gāthyaṃ saṃsmṛtā rāvel*. This gāthā, short though it is (it contains *gāryās* only), arrests attention as one breaking new ground in this literature.

2 "We may justly recognise that there remained often a field

belong, has been permeated all along. Indeed we are apt to under-estimate the place of *bhakti* (feeling) in ancient Indian life and seem to be led over too much by doctrines of *Karma* (Volition) and *jñāna* (Cognition)—disquisitions on which have often crossed the domain of philosophical literature to think that they alone were the two guiding tendencies of Indian life. But a careful study of the trend of the Indian mind would lead us to the conclusion that these disquisitions, while voicing the opinions of a certain section of the intellectually strong people, were at least academic—and that *Karma* and *jñāna* in matters of religious worship existed to the generality of people as the supplement and appendage of *bhakti*. Considered in this aspect, the *Stotra* literature is more real and penetrative than the other lyric and gnomic compositions which bear a close affinity to them in point of intensity of feeling. History has repeated and has even now been repeating itself in the promulgation of different modes of worship and prayer, orthodox and unorthodox; all of whom are fundamentally at one in their goal and in the enunciation of the principle which leads them to it.

Looked at in a more concrete way, the *Stotra* literature takes us face to face with some of the differentiating tendencies of these *prasthānas* and helps us to form an idea of how and why the different cults came into existence. The *iṣṭa* and *pūrta* view of the functions of life, has, as we have seen, had to be abandoned in the rise of the *yoga* and *kṣema* view which brought into prominence the question of *Sūnikā paustika*, or *Sānta svastayāna Bhakti* as the dominant principle in life lived in and through such practices, and made the life of the Indian householder a complex, but none-the-less an

in which much could be accomplished of universal appeal and abiding worth and that in richness and beauty of form and sound Sanskrit presented a medium worthy of the highest flights to which any poet could soar".—*Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 128.

2 Vide *Śivamahimnah stotra* 5, 7; *Gaṇeśamahimnah stotra*, 2-5.

3 *Upeyādīśvaraṇḍeiva yogakṣemārthasiddhaye (alabhyalābhacintā yogah, labhāśya rakṣaṇaṁ kṣemaḥ)*. The *iṣṭa-pūrta* view of a householder's life was the dominant note in the earlier *Dharmasaṃhitās* like that of Manu; the *yogakṣema* view obtained amongst those who growingly believed in the efficacy of *Paurāṇik* and *Tāntrik* practices. The *saṁ karmans* of an earlier age also acquired a peculiar meaning. Cf. *Sārāṭītilaka*, xxiii, 124; and the practices referred to or hinted at in the Buddhist *Sādhanamālā* and other works bear comparison.

enjoyable thing. The place of *stotras* or *stavas* in this round of duties can best be gauged by a reference to the practice of *Śānti* in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*¹. One's personal welfare may be thought to depend not only on safety from, but also victory over antagonists.² In some of the *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*, particularly in many of the latter, we have some rites and practices as essential adjuncts to religion, though they smack of totemism or superstition. In the stotra literature we have many *stotras*, where these rites are mentioned and not a few of these *stotras* in spite of their nauseating setting have redeeming features of poetic appeal and grace, by which they have withstood the ravage of critical examination. As apt instances we may cite those in the *Ādityahṛdaya*³, and the *Śaṅkī Kavaca*⁴ (these are the two planets (father and son) who are constantly sought to be appeased by *stavas* and *stutis*, because in the light of later astrological investigations, they were regarded as evil planets) and the queer, and often intensely gross and sensual Tantrik practices as in the *Vagolāmukhī* and *Dakṣiṇakālikā stotras*⁵, a prototype of what we actually meet with in profane literature (Cf. Bhavabhūti's *Mālaticāmadhava*) and in the account of the *Kāpālikas* at the time of the great Śaṅkara and Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. That all the Tantrik orders approved of such extreme forms of *Vāmicāra* is far from true; many Tāntrik *stotras* of *śakti* (cf. the *Mahīṣamardīnī Stotra*⁶ of classi-

1 *mandam mandam dvārāpālāḥ prapamya mānaśca.....pūjyam īnākuladevatam.....kriyamāṇaśaśāhutiḥomaṇ.....pathyam anamāhāmāyavī pravartyam ānagrhaśāntijapyam ānaruद्रािकāśānti śāntayamānaśca-grhaṇ rājakulaṇ vīveśa* (Ucchvāsa V).

2 Cf. practices like *śāśikaraṇa*, *stambhana*, *vidveśana*, *marana*, *uccāṇa*. Some of the *Purāṇas* (*Vāyu*, *Līṅga*, *Padma*) have assigned particular attributes and colours to the respective Vedas and especially, to particular *mantras* in or coming out of them. Compare *Līṅgapurāṇa*, xvii.

3 Cf. *Ādityahṛdaya* :

tribhiśca rogī bhavati jvarī bhavati paucabhiḥ.

4 Cf. the practice in mediæval Europe of burning the effigy of an enemy often hinted at in Shakespearian literature.

5 *Vagolāmukhīstava* (verses 6 and 7). *Dakṣiṇakālikāstava* (verses 10, 15 and 16) in the *Stavakāvya-mālā*.

6 Verses 3, 7. In the end there is, however, a reference to *stambhanas*, *māraṇas* etc.

cal fame) afford glowing testimony to the use which they made of prayer and self-purification.

A look at another important branch of the *Stotra* literature (e.g., the *Tārā Stotras*) would convince us of the eclectic tendencies in religious worship which culminated in the adaptation of many deities into later Hindu pantheon from non-Hindu religions. In the *Tārāpāñjhaṭikā*, ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya we have 31 verses, in which are expressions smacking of Buddhistic terminology (*vide Tārātantra*, Varendra Research Society Ed., Introduction, p. 19). So in the three hymns of Tārā in the *Tārārahasyaśārttika*, a ms. of which work is in the possession of the Varendra Research Society, the essential peculiarity of the deity lies in her identification with the *Prajñāpāramitā* of Buddhist ritualistic philosophy. More than one scholar has expressed their doubts about the Hindu origin of some of the minor deities like Śītala, Viśalakṣī, in no uncertain terms. These have had their origin in the synthesis of the later Paurāṇik and Tantrik ideals, which could not help contagion or contamination from unorthodox rites and sentiments. Indeed these individualistic, disintegrating tendencies are in their own way but proofs of the solidarity and fundamental unity of Hindu religious life; the respectful mention of different views and schools of thought, which is to be contrasted with the fastidious and often cantankerous criticism of the antagonist's views at the hands of the philosophers of the same age, indicates not only the healthy tone of the *Stotra* literature, but also its tolerance and catholicity, born of an inevitable belief in the real unity in the outlook of life; and this is the characteristic, which has in spite of the obvious disadvantages in the way of publicity and the varying levels of literary merit, won for them the admiration of all.

The question of literary excellences in the devotional lyrics has hardly been seriously and systematically thought out by the historian of Sanskrit literature, who has been at best content with time-worn and fine-spun categories of poetry of an altogether different ideal. Nay, it is often held that the *Stotra* literature is surely disappointing from the purely literary point of view. That this is an erroneous estimate will be evident to many who have cared to read the voluminous literature. Of course, some of the *stotras* as we find them in the *Purāṇas* (in the form of *māhātmyas*),—most of them in which the materialistic view of life has come to the forefront, and in which the Praśasti or Phalaśruti element is obtrusive—are rather commonplaces. And this may have been the reason why in works on *Alaṅkāra* and in anthologies (like

the *Subhāṣitāvali* and the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*) the Stotra literature as literature has not been given a prominence. But if we apply the same canons of criticism as are applied in the testing of purely profane and secular verses, it will be seen that many of these canons have as good a claim to be recognised as poetry. To start with, the manner of expression, in form and metre, in rhythm and cadence---has nowhere been so successful and charming as in this literature. The classical Sanskrit has acquired an attractive form in and through them. Rhyme and alliteration, the intricate niceties of versification, the principle of symmetry and external harmony standing as the background of internal serenity and sweetness are there in all their pristine simplicity. The Āryā verse, the ordinary śloka forms of Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, etc. the more musical adaptations of originally Vedic metres, the *tolāka*, *paṇḍarikā*, *dratavilambita*, *bhajaṅga*, *prayāṣa*, *pañcācāmara*, etc. and the infinite variations of *mātrā chandas* which are almost restricted to this branch of literature, have nowhere been so charmingly put as here. A few examples are given below :

- (1) vṛṣoparipatisphuraddhavaladhama dhamaśriya,
kuberagirigaurimabrahmagarvanirvāsi tat
(Laiṅkeśvarakṛta Śiva stotra).
- (2) padmadalayatalocana he raghuvapṣābilibhūṣaṇa deva dayalo,
nirmalaniradanulatano'khilalokahṛdambubhāṣaka bhīmo,
komalagatrapavitrāpadābhjarābhāṇapavitagautamakanta,
tvam bhajato raghunandana dehi dayaghaṇa me
svapadāmbujadāsyam
(Sitarimāṣṭaka, verse 2).
- (3) vahasi vapuṣi viśade vasaṇaṁ jaladabham,
balahatibhītinilitayamunābham.
(Jayadeva—Daśavatara stotra).
- (4) namaste namaste samastavarupe
samasteṣu vastuṣvanusyūtaśakte
(Prapañcasāra—Hillekhaṣṭava, x, 69).
- (5) namaste śaraṇye śive sanukāṁpe
namaste jagadvyāpīke viśvarupe
(Āpaduddhāra-stava).
- (6) devi sureśvari bhagavati gaṅge
tribhuvanatārīṇi taralataṛaṅge
(Gaṅgāstava).
- (7) vṛṣo vṛddho yānaṁ viṣam aśanam aśa nivasanam...
(Ānandalahari 16).

The alterations of metres like the play of light and shade or the rays in the solar spectrum have often produced a marvellous effect as in the two *stavas* *Mukundamuktāvali*, and *Bhagavatīpadya-puspānjali* (both of which seem to be rather late productions), in the former of which there have been used no less than fifteen metres in the course of thirty stanzas¹.

And if the claim of the *stotras* for literary recognition rests on their artistic expression, it rests no less on the charm and nobility of sentiments contained in them. Here of course is a fundamental and inevitable difference, the sentiments have got to be of one uniform type, the *Rasa* that figures in them is ultimately one of the nine or more *rasas* in the code of the rhetoricians. The whole *stotra* literature is a series of expressions of *bhakti* included later in the category of a *rasa* by Vaiṣṇava rhetoricians. In the smaller lyrics, where the verses generally are charged with the same sentiment or *rasa*, there is much room for monotony in the *stotra* considered as a *kāvya*. Conventionalities and customs, conceits and intellectual caprices except by way of mere catchwords and affectations do not disturb the smooth flow of feeling here as in other allied departments of *kāvya* and the dart-like directness of aim (*tanmayabhīratā*) gives rise to undiluted pleasure.

The following examples culled from the less ambitious lyrics serve to illustrate this point :—

- (1) tvadarcana-parāyaṇa-pramathakanyakāluphita-
prasūnasaphaladrumaṃ kam api śailamāśāsmāhe,
alam taṭavitaridikāśayitasiddhisimantini-
prakīrṇasumanomanoramāṇameruṇā meruṇā
(Laiṅkeśvarakṛta Śivastotra).
- (2) tvayā samuddhṛtya gajāsya hantum
ye śikarāḥ puṣkararandhra muktāḥ,
vyomaṅgane te vicaranti tārāḥ
kālatmano mauktikatulyabhāṣaḥ.
nāgānane nāgakṛtottartye
kṛtārate devakumārasaṅghaiḥ,
tvayi kṣaṇam kālagatiṃ viḥāya
tau prapatuḥ kandukatāṃ ravīndū.
(Gaṇapati-stotra in the *Sūradātīlaka*, Paṭala, XIII).
- (3) tvadanusmrtireva pāvanī
stutiyukta nahi vaktumīśa sā,

¹ *Stavakavacamālā*, pp. 596-602, pp. 278-284.

madhuraṃ hi payaḥ svabhāvato
 nanu kṛdṛk sītaśarkārānvitam.
 sa viśo'pyamṛtāyate bhavān-
 chavamunḍābharāṇo'pi pāvanaḥ,
 bhava eva bhavāntakaḥ satām
 samadṛṣtir viśamekṣaṇo'pi san

(Upamanyukṛta Śivastotra).

The philosophical background of the literature arrests the attention of the casual reader and constructs the really Indian element of stamp in them. In some of these lyrics called *Ātmabodha stotras*, philosophising is rather keen; constant iteration of the unreality of the world seems to be overdone, thus impairing their literary value. As accompaniments and subsidiaries of meditation like trances or psycho physical exercises, they certainly have their uses;—but they fall flat on the ears of the ordinary man. In them the substratum of *jñāna* has tried to shut its doors against all limitations of *karman* and commingle itself with *bhakti* which is placed in a rather unenviable position. That that *stotras* of this type (e. g. the *mohamulgara*) were meant only for the select few is self evident. No question of serial conventions and individualistic free will disturbs us here. As a *stotra-kāra* puts it, *nīstraigunye pathi vicarataḥ ko vidhiḥ ko niśedhaḥ*—the refrain in the *Carpalāpanjarikā stotra*—*bhaja govindam, bhaja govindam, bhaja govindam, mūḍhamate* are types of thought met with in these *stotras* but it is to be noted that these very seldom deviate from the orbit chalked for them, as will be evident from the extracts noted below from *Paramēśvara*¹ which has almost touched the danger zone between *jñāna* as *naiṣkarmya* and *bhakti*. In the *stotras* of another, though distinctly learned, type best represented by the *Śivamahimnaḥ stotra*², we have occasional refer-

1 Kādāham bhoḥ svamin niyatānanasā tvām hr̥di bhajann-
 abhadre saṃsāre hyanavarataduḥkhe'tiviraśaḥ.
 labheyaṃ tām śāntiṃ paramamunibhir yā hyadhigata
 dayam kṛtvā me tvām vitara paraśāntiṃ bhavahara.
 vidhātā ced viśvaṃ sṛjati sṛjatan me śubhakṛtiṃ
 vibhuścet pātā mā'vatu janimṛterduḥkhajaladheḥ.
 haraḥ saṃhartā saṃharatu mama śokaṃ sajanakaṃ
 yathā'ham muktaḥ syāṃ kimapi tu tatha te vidadhatām.

(verses 3 & 4).

2 Verses 4-7, 9.

ences to the dogmas and academic queries of the accredited schools of philosophy, orthodox and unorthodox ;—but they serve merely as digressions. The *stotrakāra* (lyrist) makes no capital out of them and is disposed even to speak lightly of them as *kutarkas* (irrelevant and fruitless surmises) ; he bases his appeal on the firm rock of really vital philosophical beliefs which are ingrained in every human heart and are simple and effective. In that philosophical *Śāntaka* (*stotrasāra*) the *Ānandalaharī* or the Waves of Bliss, which tradition has rightly ascribed to the great Śāṅkarācārya we find this point very clearly hinted at in the following verses :—

avidyānāmantastimiramihiroddīpanakari

..... bhavati. (verse 3).

śrutinām mūrdhāno dadhati tava yau śekharatayā

mamāpyetau mataḥ śirasi dayayā dhehi caraṇau.

yayoḥ pādyaṁ pāthaḥ paśupatijāṭājūṭataṭini

yayorlākṣṣālakṣmīraṇaḥaracūḷamaṇiruciḥ (verse 84)

Man is, by constitution, weak, aggrieved (*ārta*), forlorn (*anāṭha*) ; he has no other way of deliverance from his bondage of sins and sorrows than to surrender himself to the grace of the almighty 'kindly spirit'. This is the rock on which the primrose of human redemption shines out and from this has come the expression of the *bhakti* of the *Śāṅkilya sūtra* an earnest of which is to be traced in the *madhuvidyā* of the *Chāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*¹. Only at the concluding stage of his *sādhana* and *upāsana* can he think of freeing himself from the clutches of dualities of relations and perceive intuitionally but unambiguously his blissful spiritual self² :—

manobuddhyahaṁkāracittāni nāhaṁ

na ca śrotrañjīve na ca ghrāṇaṇetre.

na ca vyoma bhūmir na tejo na vāyu

śeidanandarūpaḥ śivo'haṁ śivo'haṁ (Nirvāṇaśatak).

1 For a discussion on this *vide* Dr. B. M. Barua's *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy* published by the Calcutta University (1923).

2 Says Arthur Avalon :—"It is customary now-a-days to decry external worship but those who do so presume too much.....Before *brahmabhāva* can be attained the *sādhakabhāva* must have passed from *pūjābhāva* through hymns and prayer to *dhyānabhāva*". (Hymns to the Goddess, p. 9). Cf. also *Sāradātīlaka* 'XXIV. 102-103) and the comments of Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon.

The *stotra literature* were to miss its mark if it did not culminate in the realisation of this blissful reality¹. A Bengal rhetorician of the 16th century brought up under the influence of the *bhakti* cult holds up this high mission of *kāvya* before its readers² :—

yaśaḥ prabhṛtyeva phalaṃ nāśya kevalam iśyate,
nirmāṇakāle śrīkṣṇaḡaḡalavanyakeliṣu,
cittasyābhiniveśena sandhānandalayastu yaḥ,
sa eva paramo lābhaḥ svādakānāḡ tathaiva saḥ.

It would be the height of temerity to say that this high level is attainable to all through profane poetry as it would be idle to deny that the *stotras* are the portals to it. In the stages of evolution of the *pūjāpaddhati* through *dhyāna*, *mānasapūjā* right up to *vandanā* we find the gradual shifting of the elements of knowledge from feeling and the ultimate merging of the individual self in the supreme soul. The speech of the lyrist cannot express the state of his mind and the lyrist thinks that the mercy and virtues of his gracious deity are comprehensible; that is why the great Vyāsa is thought by many to have spoken in deprecating terms of his endeavour to bring the supreme Being within the range of *stava stuti*³—an idea very frequently met with in the *stotra* literature. He makes another effort to humiliate himself still further and anon flashes on his mind's eye the image of the All-protector ready to help him and his heart speaks out thus in intensity of feeling⁴ :—

- 1 *hariharakathā sā ca vīlathā*
na yatra spāḡḡḡtātmā sphuradanubhavaḡpratyayamayah
(*Śārngadharaḡpaddhati*, verse 1180).

2 Kavikarṇapūra's *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*, *kīraṇa* I (page 7, Varendra Research Society Ed.).

3 *Stutyānīreḡacanāyatākhilāḡurordhārikā yamavā.....* Also Cf. the *Sapta-śati*—*kā te stutiḥ stavaparaḡ paroktiḥ*. Of similar strain is the sentiment in the following line from an exquisite hymn to Ambika in the *Sāradātīlaka* (*Paḡḡḡḡ* xxiv): *stutvā girāḡ vimalayāmyahamambike tvāḡ* a parallel to which is found in the third verse of the *Śiva-mahimnāḡ stotra*.

4 Cf. the *Īśāvāsyaopaniṣad* :—*tadejati tanmāijati taddūre tadū antike*. For the last stage in the evolution cf. A. Avalon's *Hymns to the Goddess*, Introduction :—'The highest stage is *nirūdhāra* worship. By one's own direct experience of *maheśvarī* as the self, she is with reverence made the object of that worship which leads to liberation.

na janako janani na ca sodaro
 na tanayo na ca bhūribalaṃ kulam
 avati k'opi na kalavaśaṃgatam
 bhajata re manuḥ giri-japatim

(Paśupati-stotra.)

namaḥ purastād atha prṣṭhatas te
 namo'stu te sarvata eva sarva

(Bhagavad-gītā).

namaḥ sarvasmai tadidamatisarvāya ca namaḥ

(Śivamahimnaḥ stotra).

And the spirit of prayer gushes out intermittently and purifies and fortifies itself with the thought :—

namaste sate sarvalokaśrayāya
 namaste cite viśvarūpātmakāya,
 namodvaitatattvāya muktīpradāya
 namo brahmaṇe vyāpīṇe nirguṇāya.
 tadekaṃ smarāmas tadekaṃ bhajāmas
 tadekaṃ jagatsakṣirūpaṃ namāmaḥ,
 sadekaṃ nidhānaṃ nirālambamiśaṃ
 bhavāmbhodhīpotam śaraṇyaṃ brajāmaḥ.

—undoubtedly a thought that has served as the final note of consolation to many a lover of this literature.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

MISCELLANY

The Bhāsa Problem

In his paper on 'The Bhāsa Problem' (*IIIQ.*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 103 ff.), Mr. K. R. Pisharoti cites some verses from *Kaśī Vimarśa*, which, he says, is ascribed to Rājasekhara, and tries to make out that Rājasekhara is not reliable. If we were certain that *Kaśī Vimarśa* was written by Rājasekhara, and that the source from which the laudatory verse quoted in Jahlana's *Sūktimuktimalā* as Rājasekhara's was *Kaśī Vimarśa*, we may, perhaps, reject Rājasekhara's testimony in regard to the authorship of *Śaṅkha Paśāṇa-datta*. But are we certain of these facts?

In their introduction to the edition of *Kāvyā mīmāṃsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. II, Messrs. Dada and Anantakrishna Sastri write: "Some say that Rājasekhara wrote a work named *Kaśī Vimarśa*, wherein are to be found the appreciatory verses attributed to him in the *Sūktimuktimalā*; but it does not seem probable that Rājasekhara should ever have written any such work when he had composed such a large work as the *Kāvyā mīmāṃsā* with 13 Adhikaraṇas". The learned editors do not obviously accept the view that Rājasekhara wrote *Kaśī Vimarśa*. Mr. Krishnamachariya in his edition of *Priyadarśikī* also rejects this view. I have heard from Sanskrit Pandits that as a matter of fact *Kaśī Vimarśa* is a literary forgery. It is said to be the work of a South Indian Sanskrit Pandit, Bhaṭṭa Śrī Narayana Sastri of Kumbakonam, who created uncommon stir in literary circles and among Sanskrit Pandits in South India about 40 years ago by his successful imitations of the old poets. He was known to be a prolific writer in different styles and after different models. *Kaśī Vimarśa* appears to be one of his practical jokes.

K. G. SETHA AGAR

Progress of Historical Research in Travancore

The first part of volume V of the Travancore Archaeological Series recently published has a descriptive note on the cave temple (rock-cut cave) at Kaviyur in the Quilon Division of the State. The site plan of the cave presents many points of similarity to the early type (Pallava) of rock-cut temples and has the orientation of a Śiva's shrine. The *dvārapāla* in the niche to the left of the entrance is "limb for limb a replica of the doorkeeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahendravarman cave at Trichinopoly". The Epigraphist suggests that the cave was possibly excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely Districts and that the boast of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman of having vanquished the Keralas might mean that this meeting possibly served as an occasion for the knowledge of the cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kerala country. This together with the dates fixed for another rock-cut temple at Tirunandikkarai within the State itself and for the Nṛsiṃha Cave Temple in the Anaimalai Hills in the Madura District, can "very well be assigned to the second half of the eighth century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work".

Among the important copper-plates published in the number is a Tamil record presented in the Trivandrum Palace (dated *śaka* 1601, *Kollam* 945 *i.e.* A. D. 1760) which registers the sale-deed of a village presented by the Travancore sovereign to the Ramesvaram Temple, after purchasing it from the Setupati of Ramnad. The Travancore sovereign is the well-known Rama Varma Dharmaraja who ruled from 1758 to 1798 A. D. and who is said to have composed a work on the dancing art. More important than this is the Record of Kollam 925 of the famous Mārttanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, preserved in a palmyra leaf in the Trivandrum Vernacular Records Office, being a copy of the original copper-plate. It is the solemn dedication of the whole kingdom to the deity Padmanābha, the king conducting the administration only as the deity's agent—a measure calculated to safeguard his newly acquired dominions against the aggressions of his neighbours. The idea however that the Tirunāḍi-Rājya (Travancore) was God's country was current even two centuries earlier when there was an invasion of the region of Venāḍu by Acyuta Raya of Vijayanagara.

An inscription which is however much defaced, found in the Rāmēśvarasvāmi Temple at Quilon, dated Kollam 273, (A. D. 1103) contains the record of the king ordering certain grants of land to be made to the temple as "an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas." Possibly, the Editor thinks, this has a reference to the Cālukya-Cola king, Kulottuṅga I, who at this time invaded the Pandya country, crushed the five Pandyas, burned the fort of Kollam and defeated the army of the Keralas (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 168). The gift is an expiatory donation and might have been made on account of some molestation to which Ārya-Brahmanas were probably subjected. Such penalties were called *garukṣāṭṭa* or "amerce-ments for high-handedness," and the Editor gives several similar instances.

The Editor gives a very interesting account also of a manuscript called *Rāmavarma-Yāśobhāṣaṇam* which on examination proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratāpa Rūhīya* (of the 14th century) with regard to rules, definition, and their explanatory notes except that the illustrative verses were composed in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma Dharmaraja mentioned above. He also describes another manuscript work *Vasulakṣmī-Kāvyaṇam* which was composed in Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) with the same king as hero, but by a different author. The section dealing with these two literary works appeared as an article in the *Indian Antiquary* for January, 1924.

C. J. SRINIVASACHARI

Inscriptions in Siam

In the kingdom of Siam altogether 210 inscriptions have been discovered up to now. These may be classified in seven groups according to their geographical distribution.

I. Inscriptions of the Kingdom of Dvārāvātī, 6th-8th cent. A.D.
Language—Pāli and Mon.

II. Inscriptions of the Kingdom of Śrīvijaya, 8th-12th cent.
Sanskrit and Khmer.

III. Inscriptions of the eastern and north-eastern provinces,
6th-13th cent. Sanskrit and Khmer.

IV. Inscriptions of the Kingdom of Haripunjaya, 12th-13th cent.
Pāli and Mon.

V. Inscriptions of the Kingdom of Sukhodaya, 13th-16th cent.
Pāli and Siamese.

VI. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Yonaka (in the north-west), 14th-16th cent. Pāli and Mon.

VII. Inscriptions of the dynasties of Ayodhyā and Bangkok. Post 14th cent. Pali and Siamese.

(From B. E. F. E. O., January—June, 1924, p. 266.)

U. N. G.

The German Orientalists' Day

At the conference of German Orientalists held at Munich (Oct. 24, 1924), in the Indian, Iranian and East Asian section, Prof. Lüders, Geiger and Franke presiding, Prof. Lüders spoke about the canonical and non-canonical poetry of the Sarvastivādins and the progress in the revision of Sanskrit Mss. from Turfan and he showed by citation of texts and of mistakes in their translation that the Pāli as well as Sanskrit texts that have been handed down to us must go back to an Ardha-Māgadhī original.

(From Z. D. M. G., New Series, Vol. III, p. 12.)

U. N. G.

Oriental Research in Baroda

His Highness Dr. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., *Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur*, Maharaja of Baroda, who is widely known to be a fervent lover of ancient Sanskrit lore and has a great enthusiasm for the promotion of Sanskrit research in his State, established in 1914 a Sanskrit section attached to the Central Library, instituted an expensive search for Sanskrit manuscripts, and passed orders to commence the publication of rare, useful, and important Mss. in Sanskrit, Prakṛt and Apabhraṃśa in a Series called the Gaekwad Oriental Series. He also deputed the then Librarian, an erudite Jain Sanskritist, the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, to inspect and examine the manuscript treasures in the *Bhāṇḍārs* of Jaisalmere, and Pattan, the old capital of king Kumarapāla in his own territory. Mr. Dalal gladly undertook this laborious task and brought with him rough notes to be developed in the form of a Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. deposited in these *Bhāṇḍārs*. It is a matter of the deepest regret that he could not finish the work owing to his untimely decease in 1918. He was never of very robust health but in four years he was able to publish at least 16 works in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

The search instituted by His Highness was very fruitful and in the course of a few years, the manuscript library swelled to 13000 Mss. He also lavishly spent money for the preservation of this valuable treasure, provided the Library with a fire-proof building, costly iron safes and book-racks, and supplied funds for the preparation and publication of a *Descriptive Catalogue*, of which the first volume containing descriptions of Vedic Mss. is now in the press and is expected to be published during the current year.

To help the editorial staff, His Highness provided the Library with printed Sanskrit books and the latest works of research published in India and elsewhere and awarded annual grant to keep up the efficiency of the Library by the purchase of up-to-date publications.

The Series of publications was first started in 1915 under the editorship of Mr. C. D. Dalal. After his death, the work was supervised by Mr. J. S. Kudalkar M.A., LL. B., an erudite Sanskrit scholar who filled the post of the Curator of State Libraries. But providence also snatched him away from our midst and he died in 1921. After this the work of writing proceeded very slowly till the beginning of 1924.

Though the Series is still in its infancy, it includes at present 24 works. Among the publications there are 3 Kavyas, 4 Dramas, 3 on Philosophy, 1 on Poetics, 1 on Grammar, 1 on Music, 1 Romance, 1 Biography, 1 Collection of Gujarati works, 2 Catalogues of Mss. (one being a *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Jaisalmere Bhāṇḍārs*), 1 Vedic, 1 Apabhraṃśa work, 3 on Tantra and 1 on Architecture. It will be seen that a wide field of Sanskrit literature is being traversed with the help of specialists in the different branches of knowledge.

As the Sanskrit knowing public is already conversant with our publications, it is needless to give further details about them. One of the recent publications, namely, the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Bhāṇḍārs of Jaisalmere* deserves however some notice. It is a very scholarly work and is edited by our erudite Jain Pandit Mr. Lalchand Bhagavandas Gandhi. This work has brought to light a large mass of unknown and important Indian literature as also a large number of blunders committed by previous writers on Jaisalmere Bhāṇḍārs. It contains plenty of details about the ancient writers (mostly Jain).

Mr. Dalal discovered amongst the Mss. remains in the Pattan Bhāṇḍārs numerous rare, important, and unique Mss., the most notable of which is the *Nyāya Pravēśa* of Dīnāga, the original of which was believed to have been irrevocably lost. This work is accompanied with a commentary of Haribhadra Sūri and a sub-commentary by

Pārśvadeva, both famous in Jain literature. It has been edited by the veteran and well-known scholar of Guzerat, Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Central Hindu College. It is being printed and expected to be out by the end of this year. The next work worthy of mention is the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita with the *Pañjikā* of Kamalaśīla both of whom belonged to the middle of the 8th century and were connected with the famous Vihāra of Nālandā. In the mediæval period, they kept up the high standard of Indian scholarship as evinced in their effective teachings and preachings to the kings and the people of Tibet. The book has been edited by Pandit E. Krishnamacharyya, a sound Pandit of the old school. This is also in the press and is expected to see the light by the middle of the current year. The third work in the press is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* with the commentary entitled *Abhinavabhāratī* by Abhinavagupta of Kashmir. The writing of this book has been entrusted to Pandit Ranakrishna Kavi of Rajamundry, well-known to scholars through his many contributions in the oriental journals based on materials afforded by this commentary. These articles are enough to give an idea to the public as to the importance of the work. It is to be complete in three volumes, of which the first is expected during the current year. The fourth work is the celebrated *Sādhana-mālā*, well-known through the writings of Prof. A. Foucher of the University of Paris, which induced the authorities of the Bibliotheca Buddhica in Russia to undertake its publication. It, however, never came out perhaps on account of the European war. The earliest Ms. of the work belongs to the middle of the 12th century. The edition will contain more than 300 small works called the *Sādhana*s written by distinguished scholars of Buddhism. The book is expected by the end of this year.

The fifth publication *Lekhāpaddhati* is a curious work containing ample materials for the linguists. The text has been printed and the publication is expected by the middle of this year. The author here freely uses vernacular words tagging on to them Sanskrit terminations. Many words have now become obsolete altogether making the meaning of the Sanskrit language of the book a puzzle to scholars. Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar, M. A., the editor after a year of hard labour and by his visits to the Kaḍī district, has been able to bring out the hidden meanings, and where he has failed, he has suggested his own meanings worth consideration by scholars.

The works that have been taken up for publication have been judiciously selected. They cover a wide range of subjects and range from the Sūtra period down to about 1300 A.D.

The most important work undertaken in the Series is undoubtedly the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, a unique work of historical importance, which solves many a puzzling problem in the history of Indian Buddhism. The author Advayavajra was a voluminous writer of the mediæval period on philosophy, tantra, logic, and rituals, but the Sanskrit originals of his writings are lost. Translations of a few of them are however found in the Tibetan Taṅgyur. This work is being edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri, M. A., C. I. E. We have in hand two more works giving details about the almost unknown branch of Buddhism called Vajrayāna. They are *Jñānasiddhi* of Indra-bhūti and *Prajñopāyaviniscayasiddhi* of Anaṅgavajra. They have been taken up for publication departmentally. There is another small but interesting work on Buddhist Logic entitled *Tarkabhāṣā* of Mokṣakara-gupta belonging to the once famous Jagaddala monastery.

In *Tantra*, there is in our list the voluminous compendium of the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* and a *Pāñcarātra* work entitled the *Jayasamhitā*.

In literature, only one very interesting drama written by Rāma Candra Sūri, pupil of Hemacandra has been undertaken and is being jointly edited by our Sanskrit Librarian Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar, M. A. and Mr. L. B. Gandhi.

Śāradātanaya's work entitled *Bhāvaṇaparakūṣa* on dramaturgy certainly deserves immediate publication. This work has been most ably edited by His Holiness Yadugigiri Yatiraja of Melkot and is awaiting publication.

Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* an anthology based on an accurate Grantha Ms. has also been taken up departmentally for publication. This is the bigger recension of the work praised so much by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in one of his reports.

Mānavagṛhyasūtra with the commentary of Aṣṭāvakra is also awaiting publication. It has been edited by Pandit Ramakrishna Harshaji Sastri of Ahmedabad who belongs to this particular śākha (Maitrāyaṇīya) of the Yajurveda.

Besides these, the second volume of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss.* deposited in the Central Library, Baroda, is being prepared and will also be sent to the press soon.

The *Catalogue of the Pattan Bhūṇḍārs* has also made a rapid progress and is being edited from the rough, hasty and almost illegible notes left by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal, M. A., by our Jain Pandit, well versed in ancient Jain lore, and a scholar of Prakṛt, Apabhraṃśa, and Sanskrit. It is to comprise two volumes, one of which will be sent to the press soon.

The *Bhaviṣyatta Kahā* or *Pañcamīkahā* in Apabhraṃśa has already

been out. We have in hand three works to go in one volume entitled : *Carcarī*, *Upadeśarasāyaṇa*, and *Kūlasvarūpakulaka* with commentaries. The *Kumārāpūlapratibodha* is the only Prākṛt book and the *Prācīna Gurjara Kāvyaśaṅgraha* is the only Vernacular work that have up till now been published.

While on one hand the editing is going on in full swing, we have not neglected the other branches of oriental research.

In Epigraphy the Tilakwada plate has been secured and deciphered by Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar of this Department. It gives the information that Surāditya the Senāpati of Bhoja Paramara of Dhārā fought against the Muhammadan general Śahavahana and by defeating him made firm the tottering kingdom of his master. The other interesting copper-plate discovered very recently by the same scholar testifies unmistakably to the high imperialism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It refers to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka Suvarṇavarṣa and to a grant of land made by him as attested by the signature of Amoghavarṣa, overlord of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat. It shows clearly that the main line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings regarded their Gujarat brethren as mere vassals. A paper on the subject was read at the last session of the Oriental Conference.

In the domain of Indian Art, we have very recently secured a unique Ms. of *Bhagavadgītā* written on paper embroidered with gold and silver with 91 pictures, all of which are wonderful specimens of early Rajputana art. The author takes up passages from the *Bhagavadgītā* and by the touch of his brush transforms the passages into a delightful and picturesque scene. The masterly delineation, the forceful expression of the faces in the appropriate settings make these pictures an invaluable treasure.

With regard to the copying of Mss. we have dispensed with the idea of employing copyists, who are often very unwilling workers, charge heavy rates and take a lot of time. A year ago we purchased a huge photographic machine called *Photostat*, which operated by a single man, can copy about one hundred leaves of a ms. in a day. These copies are on bromide paper and last for a long time with a good contrast of black and white. To preserve brittle and dilapidated mss., we have been employing this machine with the greatest success.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb has sanctioned 22000 rupees for the publication of Sanskrit works in the Gaekwad Oriental Series for which all scholars interested in Indology have reason to be grateful to him.

Notes on Buddhism

1. The *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* contains the following interesting note : "Philosophies while destroying the opinion of their adversaries must carefully respect the principles of logic, because these principles are useful to them ; just as kings, while destroying the soldiers of their enemies respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both armies". This observation can be compared to the observation of the Greek historians who saw with surprise that peasants peacefully practised their peaceful work in the middle of combating armies.

2. Vasubandhu (ii, 50) himself does not give a very pleasant idea of the government of the kings (or rather of the small chiefs). He establishes that there is a certain sort of cause (*hetu*), which in fact does not produce any effect : its causality only consists in the fact of not prohibiting the production of the effect by other causes. The objection is at hand : how can a thing which does not produce be called a cause ? Just as the villagers say, "We are happy owing to our Lord (*svāmin*, *bhōjaka*)" not, (of course), because their Lord helps them in any way, but because, while he is powerful enough to harm them, he remains unharmed. In the same way Montaigne says : "Les princes me donnent prou s'ils ne m'ôtent rien" (Princes give me much when they do not take).

3. My friend G. K. Nariman has made a good collection of the Buddhist references to the method of dealing with the dead, incineration, *tūpas*, exposure to birds and beasts). The comparison of the Pāli and Sanskrit Mahānāmasūtras shows perhaps that eastern or central India (home of Pāli Buddhism ?) had not the rules which prevailed in western India (home of Sanskrit Buddhism ?). While Saṃyutta, V, 379 or Dīgha, ii, 295 refer only to the *śmaśāna* where corpses are abandoned to the beasts of prey, the Sanskrit redaction of the Mahānāmasūtra (quoted in the *Abhidharmakośa*, iii, 304) gives an exhaustive enumeration of *mṛtaya khalu kālagatasya jātaya imaṃ pūṭikakūyam agnau vā dahanti udake vā plāvayanti bhūmau vā nikhānanti vātātapaḥkūyam vā*

1. Quelques parallèles entre le Bouddhisme et le Parsisme. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1912, i, 85. — Prof. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 80.

pariśeṣaṃ parikṣayaṃ paryādānaṃ gacchati;—there is “incineration, immersion, sepulchre (“enterrement”) and exposure of the body in a place where by the wind and the sun it becomes dry and finally disappears”. No more mention of the beasts of prey. The end of the sūtra is worth quoting: *vat punar idam ucyate cittaṃ iti vā manaḥ iti vā vijñānaṃ iti vā śraddhāparibhāvitaṃ śīladyūga-ruta-prajñāparibhāvitaṃ tad ūrdhvagāmi bhavati viśeṣagāmy āyatāṃ svargapagam*: But what is called thought, mind or consciousness, when it is perfumed by faith, morality, gift, sacred instruction, sacred wisdom, that goes above, goes to a good state, goes in the future to the paradise.”

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

The Bhāsa Problem—A Reply

I have read with some interest the paper on the “Bhāsa Problem” of Mr. K. R. Pisharoti.

Mr. P. thinks that the want of requisite materials, which are scrupulously guarded by the professional actors of Kerala known as the Cākhyars, has prevented Sanskritists from subjecting the conclusions of Mm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri regarding Bhāsa’s plays to a critical examination; that, as a Malayalee scholar interested in the old Kerala stage, he has had many opportunities of acquainting himself with its inner life so as to enable him to get at some interesting data bearing on the question of those plays; that his study of them in the light of these materials has led him to the conclusion that the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* was a neo-Bhāsa, a contemporary of Śrīharṣa of Kanouj; that there must have been two SVs., of one of which the published Trivandrum text bearing that name may only be a playwright’s adaptation; and that Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, who has been maintaining his ground consistently so long, has apparently not come across these materials till now. While complimenting Mr. P. on the special facilities that he has possessed for research in this direction, we shall consider the nature and validity of the materials that he has marshalled forth in support of his contentions.

At the outset, he attempts to knock the very foundation from under the feet of the supporters of Bhasa's authorship of the plays by pointing out that the verse, *Bhāsanāṭakacakra*, the *terra firma* on which they have built up their vast discussions, has not been properly understood by them, on account of its being detached from its context. The context, the last important verse of which has figured largely in the Bhāsa controversy, is then produced in its entirety as an extract from a work called *Kāvīmāṣa*, vaguely ascribed to Rājaśekhara.

1. "Kāraṇaṃ tu kavītvasya na sampāna-kulmatī,
Dhāvako'pi hi yad Bhāsaḥ kavinaṃ agrimaṃ bhavet.
2. Ādau Bhasena racita-ṇāṭikā Priyadarśikā,
Nirīkṣyasya rasajñasya kasya na priyadarśinī.
3. Tasya Ratnāvalī nunaṃ ratnamaleva rajate,
Daśarūpakakaminyā vaksasy atyantaśobhana.
4. Nāganandaṃ samalokya yasya Śrīharṣavikramaḥ,
Amanānandabharitāḥ svasabhyam akaroḥ kavinaḥ.
5. Udātтарыghavaṃ nunaṃ udātтарыsagumphitaṃ,
Yadvikṣya Bhavabhūtiyadyaḥ prapīnyur-ṇāṭakamī va.
6. Śoka-paryavasāna yā navāṅkā Kīrapāvalī,
Mukandasyeva kasyadya pradadati na murtim.
7. Bhāsanāṭakacakra'pi cchekeṇ kṣipte parīkṣitaṃ,
Svapnavāsavadattasya dahako'bhūna-pavakaḥ".

The muse of poetry has little regard for wealth or caste, for Bhasa, a washerman by caste, was the greatest of poets.

He wrote the three plays *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgananda*; and king Śrīharṣa having been pleased with them made the poet one of the courtiers of his court.

Bhāsa wrote another play called *Udātтарыghava* which served as a model for Bhavabhūti and other poets, and his other work *Kīrapāvalī* is a tragedy in nine acts.

When all his plays were thrown into the fire (of criticism), one that survived the ordeal was SV.

These are the extract and its summary.

While unquestioningly accepting these as genuine verses of Rājaśekhara, Mr. P. however, doubts their reliability in the matter of their contents, inasmuch as they ascribe the *Ratnāvalī* and other plays to Bhasa, against all precedent and literary tradition. He therefore sweepingly condemns the whole extract, including even the last verse, which is the only genuine one in the extract, and in like manner dismisses Rājaśekhara himself as an unreliable

authority. This, it has to be noted, is the one underlying misconception throughout his paper.

The extract is, in fact, known¹ to be a patch-work of truth and falsehood, which an ingenious Pandit had palmed off on some credulous Sanskritists, as an excerpt from a hypothetical work called the *Kāvī-vimarśa* whose authorship he had cleverly foisted on Rājasekhara, in imitation of whose other verses the questionable ones were modelled. The last verse of this extract, *Bhāsanūlakāśakre*, occurs under *Sāmānya-kāvī-praśaṃsā* in the anthology, *Sūktimuktāvalī*, as that of poet Rājasekhara. The anthology was compiled by Jalhana,² a counsellor of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa, who ruled over the Deccan in the second half of the 13th century A. D. It is an unpublished work and its manuscript exists in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and many other places. A large number of memorial verses about individual poets attributed to Rājasekhara is found in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *Harāvālī* and other anthologies, and as these verses have an important bearing on the history of Sanskrit literature, Dr. Peterson³ has already collected and grouped them together. The author of these verses is known to be the same as the author of the four dramas and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*; and as these particular verses are not traceable in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* where they might naturally have been expected to be found, their source is surmised to be the *Haravilāsa*, a *kāvya* which has been also ascribed to him by Hemacandra⁴. But to the extract above quoted and its sources, namely the hypothetical *Kāvī-vimarśa*, there is no reference to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We have heard of an *Udāttarāghava*⁵ quoted by Dhanika and others, and *Kiraṇāvalī*, an incomplete work on logic by Udayanācārya; but the curious statement that Bhāsa wrote the U.R. and the tragedy *Kiraṇāvalī* is in itself an evidence of the spuriousness of the major portion of the extract under reference, excepting the last verse, which has been independently authenticated as that of Rājasekhara. A plausible explanation as to how the idea of

1 Vide page 373, fn. 5.

2 Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search of Sanskrit mss.*, 1887-1891, p. 7.

3 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xvii. pp. 57-71.

4 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, intro., p. 17. (*Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. 1).

5 *Ind. Ant.*, xli (1912), p. 141.

this literary forgery originated, may be offered in this wise, that the subject-matter of the forged extract was coined in imitation of similar episodes mentioned in the following references—

1. *Sarasvatīpavitrāṇām jātis tatra na dehinām.*

Vyāsaspardhī kulālo'bhūd yad Droṇo Bhārata kavīh¹.

The hallowing touch of the Muse destroys all distinctions of caste. Did not the potter Droṇa write a Bhārata in emulation of Vyāsa himself?

2. *Aho prabhāvo vāgdevyā yan mataṅgadvākaraḥ²*

Śrīharṣasyābhavat sabhyas samo Bāṇa- Mayūrayoh³.

All glory to the divine Muse. The outcaste poet Divākara, having been blessed by her, attained the position of a court poet of Śrīharṣa even as Bāṇa and Mayura.

3. *Dhāvakaḥ kavīḥ ; sa hi Śrīharṣanāmnā Ratnāvalīṃ kṛtvā bahu dhanam labdhavān⁴.*

Dhāvaka composed the Ratnāvalī in the name of his royal patron Śrīharṣa and obtained much wealth.

4. *Prathitayaśasā n Dhāvaka Saumilla Kaviputrādīnām prabandhān atikramya vartamānakaveḥ Kālidāsaḥ kṛtau kīṇkṛto bahu mānaḥ⁵.*

Why do you praise so much the work of a modern poet Kālidāsa, disregarding the famous works of Dhāvaka, Saumilla, Kavi-putra and others?

It is certain therefore that there is no work in existence called the *Kavi-vimarsa* and that the alleged extract is the product of a mischievous imagination. The theory that Bhasa was the same as Dhāvaka, which was started by Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri⁶, Madras, on the basis of this extract, was rejected by Sanskritists⁶, and all discussion about it was consigned to oblivion. We are

1 & 2 Ascribed to Rājaśekhara in anthologies : vide *JBBRAS.*, vol. xvii, pp. 57-71.

3 *Kāvya-pradīpoddhṛta* of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, p. 5.

4 *Mālavikāgnimitra*, edited by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, Calcutta.

5 Vide his dissertation "Śrīharṣa the Dramatist," Madras, 1902.

6 Ettinghausen's *Harṣavarḍhana*, pp. 100-102, n. 3 ; and R. V. Krishnamacharyar's *Bhāmikā* in his edition of *Privadarśikā*, Srirangam, 1906.

sorry to note that Mr. P. has raked up this skeleton from a long-buried past, to terrorise us into accepting his neo-Bhāsa theory.

Then Mr. P. considers the genuineness of the published *SV.* and brings in his support the evidence of—1. The *Amarakoṣa-Tikāsarvasva* of Sarvānanda; 2. the *Locana* of Abhinavagupta; 3. the *Nālyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra; 4. the *Nālakalakṣaṇa-ratnakōṣa* of Śāgaranandin and 5. the *Bhāvaparakūṣa* of Śāradātanaya. We shall now proceed to examine *seriatim* these five-fold items of evidence.

1. According to Mr. P. the quotation of Sarvānanda refers to the *kāma-śṛṅgāra* of Udayana and not to his *artha-śṛṅgāra*; and since the published text deals with the latter topic alone, it must be quite different from the *SV.* to which Sarvānanda refers and which might deal with Udayana's marriage with Vasavadattā (*kāma-śṛṅgāra*). We have however to note that the quotation is defective and faulty; for in the exposition of the three kinds of *śṛṅgāras*, viz., *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, the quotation supplies references only to the first and the last, while the middle is left out of account. As it is quite unlikely that the author could have given such defective information, it has been suggested that the transposition¹ of a single word would give symmetry and completeness to the exposition; and in that case, the quotation may well be considered as referring to a single work *SV.* in illustration of the *Artha* and *Kāma-śṛṅgāras*. These together, it must be noted, form the theme of the published text of the *SV.*; for to the main current of Udayana's undying love for Vāsavadattā, the underlying sentiment in the plot, his love for Padmāvatī is but a nourishing tributary. It is clear from this that the published text is the *SV.* referred to by Sarvānanda. The principal incidents in the story of Udayana are his capture by Pradyota, his elopement with Vasavadattā, and the recovery of his lost kingdom and queen, his marriage with Padmāvatī serving only as a means to the last. The first two episodes have been employed in the plot of the *Pratijñā-Vaṅgandharāyaṇa*, while the last and momentous event in the story makes up the plot of the *SV.* Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā is not in itself such an eventful theme

1. Svadīśam ātmasāt kartum Udayanasya Padmāvatī pariṇayo'rtha-śṛṅgārah Svapnavāsavadatte: tṛtīyaḥ tasyaiva Vāsavadattāpariṇayaḥ kāmaśṛṅgārah. (*Tric. Skt. Series*, No. 15; Introduction, p. 7).

as to serve as the subject-matter for a drama, and the vast literary sources for Udayana's story refer only to his *delement* with his queen Vāsavadattā and his later recovery of his kingdom and queen, but not to his *marriage* with her. Hence there is no possibility of a drama ever having being composed with its plot based on the incident of Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā.

2. As regards the verse quoted by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana*, we think that it cannot fitly belong to the published text, because not only is the context unsuited to the plot, but the literary style of the verse which is expressed in a long drawn and grotesque metaphor contrasts very strongly with that true text of a pre-Kālidāśian composition, namely the simple and charming diction of the published text, unadorned with any rhetorical gloss. Moreover, Abhinavagupta quotes the verse as an example of poetry where a poet unnaturally subordinates the *Rasa* (the poetical flavour) to a vain striving after rhetorical effect. We shall therefore be not far from right in considering that Abhinavagupta has in the present case wrongly attributed the verse to *SV*.

3. Mr. P. further argues that because the verse quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* as from the *SV* of Bhāsa is not to be found in the published text, there must be another *SV* where the missing verse might have occurred. But the mere absence of a verse or two is not in itself a sufficient reason for arguing that there must be another *SV* where these verses might be traced. One might as well argue that, because a certain verse quoted by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in his *Tantra-vārtika* as from the *Manu-smṛti* is not found in the extant text, there must be another *Smṛti* where that verse might be found. The fact, however, is that the missing verse will have to be traced to a lost recension of the *Manu-smṛti* from which Kumārila must have quoted the verse. Similarly, if a variorum edition of the *SV* could be published, the verse quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* will certainly be discovered in that edition. But the learned editor of the Bhāsa plays has, however, proved that the absent verse must surely belong to the published *SV* and that it very appositely fits in a clearly noticeable hiatus in the published text. (*Vide* his annotated edition, fourth impression, 1924).

4. Another arrow in Mr. P's quiver is that, because there is a variation between the quotation found in Śegaranandin's work and

its counterpart in the published *SV*, this author must have quoted from the genuine drama, of which the Trivandrum version is only an adaptation. Against this argument, it may be pointed out, that the style and nature of the quotation bear unmistakable evidence to the fact that Sāgaranandin is quoting a portion of the prelude of the published text, only from memory. The expression *Padmāvatiya parijānena* is unpoetical and is common only in later-day dry commentaries. Quotations in the *Daśarūpaka* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa* have also been found to vary from the published texts of their sources ; and these variations have similarly been explained as due either to the fact that the quotations belonged to lost recensions of the sources, or that the authors themselves made defective quotations from memory, in those days when there were not great facilities for reference and verification.

5. The *Bhāvaprakāśa* refers to six topics as dealt with in a *SV*, and these with one exception have been found to tally with the published text. This agreement coupled with the fact that the summary of the plot of the fifth act of a *SV*, given in the *Sriṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja is the same as that of the published text, leaves no room for doubt in regard to the identity of the *SV*, referred to by the two writers¹ and the Trivandrum text. But to Mr. P. the single exception is enough to prove that the published text is an adaptation. One other fact, namely, that *Bhāvaprakāśa* which mentions *SV*, has nothing to say about the peculiarities of the prelude of the published text, confirms, in Mr. P's opinion, his surmise that the latter is only an adaptation. This argument is certainly misleading ; for the negative factor that *Bhāvaprakāśa* does not expatiate on the peculiarities of the prelude, it does not follow that it is not genuine. The *Pāṇatūlitaka-Bhāṇa*, which is quoted by Kṣemendra, Kuntaka and others, shares with the published text some of the peculiarities in regard to its prelude, and Abhinavagupta who also quotes from the *Bhāṇa* in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaveda* is also silent on this point. Will Mr. P. say that the *Bhāṇa* also is an adaptation ? The statement of Mr. P. further implies the supposition that the author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* evolved his dramaturgy from a close study of the numerous works in Sanskrit literature. This is far from the truth. The author is a fourth-rate dramaturgist, and he has faithfully followed mostly the beaten track of his predecessors in the field.

So much about the evidence of Mr. P. to show that the published *SV.* is not genuine.

Then the language, dramatic technique and unity of the Bhāsa plays are examined in the light of further materials, which are as weak and as untrustworthy as those already noticed. We have no mind to tire the patient reader by examining all of them here, as these have been controverted by the editor of the *Bhāsa* plays in his forthcoming "Bhāsa Studies—A Criticism." We shall content ourselves with criticising only a few among them, as typical of Mr. P.'s 'materials'.

1. Mr. P. analyses the archaic beauty of the language and discovers it neither in the diction, the expressions, nor in the plot; even as the proverbial chemist who analysed the tears of his weeping wife into phosphates of lime, soda, and water, without being able to find out the reason of her weeping. The beauty of a piece of art consists not in its component parts but in its unity, in its manner rather than in its matter. That the *SV.* is characterised by a virile archaic beauty of language, compared with which even that of Kalidasa looks modern, has however been acknowledged by the *Sahityādas* of the East and the West.

2. It is said that the variety of names such as *Vāsavadatta*, *Śvapna-nīlaka*, and *Vāsavattī-nīlaka* under which the work has been known indicates that it is not genuine. Ancient writers are found to shorten the titles of the works they quoted; for instance, *Raghuvamśa* is found abridged as *Raghu*, *Kumārasambhava* as *Kumāra*, *Kirātārjuna* as *Kirāta*; but the *SV.* has had no such abridged title, and the authors who have referred to it have done so by its full name. *Śvapna-nīlaka* and *Vāsavattī-nīlaka* appear to be only the titles of the scribe's coining. In illustration of this fecundity of the scribe's imagination may be cited one funny instance, wherein a manuscript of this drama found in the house of a Pisharodi gentleman of North Travancore bore the curious title of *Niṣkrāntasarva-nīlaka*; and on enquiry it eventually turned out that this novel christening was the work of the owner himself, who seeing the ending colophon of the text *niṣkrāntāḥ sarve* forthwith docketed the manuscript as the *Niṣkrāntasarva-nīlaka*.

3. Each act of the published text having a separate name is not a point in favour of its being a playwright's adaptation, as Mr. P. thinks; for each of the ten Acts of the *Mr̥chakatīka* has a separate name, *viz.*, Mañkaranyāsa, Dyutakara-ānvahaka, Sandhiccheda, Madarikaśarvilaka, Durdina, etc.

4. The non-mention of the name of the work and its author in the prelude of the published text does not necessarily connote that

the text had no definite name, shape, or author ; for we find similar omissions in the case of the *Ubhayābhisārika* which has a definite name, author, and shape.

From all these considerations, it will be evident that the materials, which Mr. P. has arrayed before us to establish that the published *SV.* is a playwright's adaptation and that there are more than one *SV.* and Bhāsa, have not achieved their purpose and the attribution of the *SV.* to the ancient dramatist Bhāsa remains on as solid a foundation as ever.

G. HARILAK SASTRI

Hindu Theories of the Origin of Kingship and

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal

In his work entitled 'Hindu Polity,' Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has treated *inter alia* the speculations of the ancient Indian thinkers relating to the origin of kingship, or more generally, of the State. His views on this important subject, needless to say, deserve the most careful consideration of every student of Indian antiquities, and it is this task which we have attempted to set before ourselves in the present paper.

Let us begin by analysing the principal points of his thesis :

I The "vedic theory" implied that kingship had its origin in war, or to state more correctly, in election under the stress of war. This "suggests" that "that the institution of kingship was borrowed [by the Aryans] from the Dravidians" (Pt. II, pp. 4-5).

II The Arajaka democrats who propounded a "theory of extreme individualism" held that the State was founded on the basis of Social Contract (Pt. I, pp. 172-173).

III The "political writers" (otherwise called the 'scientists') laid down a "contractual theory of the origin of monarchy" which was a monarchist adaptation of the "republican theory of contract" (Pt. I, p. 173 ; Pt. II, p. 5).

IV The theory of the *Manusamhitā* which was the "nearest Hindu approach to the divine theory of kingship" had "no direct support in earlier literature". It was started to "support an

abnormal state of affairs opposed to law and tradition, viz., political rule by Brahmin" (sic.), and was "never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book" (Pt. II, pp. 51-58).

V From the above it appears that the Hindu king was held to be a servant of the State and his office was taken to be a trust (Pt. II, pp. 185, 188).

We shall now consider the above points in detail.

I As regards the vedic theory of the origin of kingship the text quoted by J. (Ait. Br., I, 14) is not the only evidence bearing on this point. Assuming, as J. does, that the divine sovereignty of Indra can rightly be taken to be a reflex of the human sovereignty of the earthly king, we have to mention in this connexion at least one other Vedic ākhyāyikā which leads to a quite different conclusion. The whole passage (Taitt. Br., II, 2, 10-12) may be quoted in full. "Prajapatirindranasrjatanujavaraṇ devatamaṁ/ taṁ prahṇot/ pare hi/ cteṣam devīnam adhipatiredhiti/ taṁ devā abruvan/ kastvamasī/ vayan vai tvacehreyāṣah sma iti/ ma deva avocanniti/ atha vā idam tarhi prajapatau hata asit/ yadasmīmaditye/ tadenamabravīt/ etanne prayaccha/ athahameteṣaṁ devānam adhipatirbhaviṣyamiti/ ko'ham syāmityabravīt/ etat pradāyati etat sya ityabravīt/ yadetat braviṣīti/ ko vai nama prajapatih/ ya evaṁ veda/ vidurenāṁ nāmnā/ tadasmai rukmaṁ kṛtvā pratyamūrat/ tato vā indro devanāmadhipatirabhavat/ ya evaṁ veda/ adhipatireva samānanāṁ bhavati." It is evident that what we have here is not a theory of election, but of creation of kingship by the will of the Supreme Deity. As regards the further observation of J. that Ait. Br., I, 14 suggests the institution of kingship to have been borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the Dravidians, it must, we are afraid, be treated as too original to deserve any serious notice. For its acceptance involves a number of unproved assumptions. These are :—

- 1 that in pre-Aryan times the Dravidians had kings,
- 2 that the aborigines with whom the Aryans came in contact belonged ethnically to the Dravidian stock,
- 3 that the Aryans with their known aversion towards the aborigines did not hesitate to borrow one of their most important institutions from them.

Nor, again, does the evidence of historical analogy support J's theory. In the parallel case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain, it was not by borrowing from the conquered people but through the necessities of the situation, which called for a common and

permanent leader in war, that the institution of the kingship came into general use.

II No. 2 is a brilliant example of the author's ingenuity in discovering the hidden meaning of familiar facts. Before the publication of the *Hindu Polity*, 'arājaka' was held in all quarters to have only one meaning relating to kinglessness or anarchy. But J. with characteristic boldness gives it an original significance in the sense of a 'non-ruler State' and accords it a place in his list of Hindu 'technical constitutions'. By it he means an idealistic constitution in which law instead of an individual was taken to be the ruler and which was based on "mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens". Now what are the grounds on which this novel interpretation of a very familiar term is sought to be based? "The technical 'Arājaka,'" we are told (II. P., Pt. I, p. 97n), "cannot mean anarchy as this is indicated by a special term *mātsyanyaya*". But that 'Arājaka' was a technical term and not, as is ordinarily held, a popular expression for anarchy, is precisely the point requiring to be proved. The sole evidence on which J. relies (cf. Pt. I, p. 99) is the well-known and oft quoted text of the *Jaina Ayaraṅga Sutta* (II, 3. 1. 10) forbidding monks and nuns to pass through certain countries which are specified as follows :—

*arayāṇi va gaṇarāyāṇi va yuvarāyāṇi vā verajjjaṇi vā viruddha-
rājjaṇi vā.*

Here there is nothing to justify J's assumption of a reference in every case to real and historical forms of government, and consequently his interpretation of 'arājaka' must be dismissed as not proven.

Having thus invoked an imaginary 'Arājaka constitution' "based on the rule of law," J. must needs father on its exponents an equally imaginary theory of the basis of the State. The texts quoted by J. in support of his view occur in the course of the two well-known stories of the origin of monarchy in the *Śāntiparvan* (chs. LIX and LXVII). Now admitting that the *Śāntiparvan* in its existing form has incorporated a mass of earlier materials, one may be permitted to doubt very much whether a portion of the text torn from its context and not described (as the ancient narratives are) in the form of 'itihāsaṃ purāṇam', can safely be attributed to a class of authors ('Arājaka democrats') whose existence is unknown to history.

III The theories of the origin of kingship in the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Manusmṛiti*, and the *Mahābhārata*, which J. ascribes to the 'political writers' (or the "scientists") are undoubtedly very remarkable of their kind. But to characterize them as examples of the contrac-

tual origin of kingship is to give an altogether one-sided, and therefore imperfect, view of their true nature. For, first, let it be noted that the person with whom the 'contract' is supposed to be made is not an ordinary mortal but is a superhuman being,—Manu Vaivasvata, progenitor of the present race of living beings (according to Aś., I, 13), Manu the father of the human race (Śāntiparvan, ch. LXVII), or else Pṛthu who traced his descent from Virajas, the mind-begotten son of Brahmā (Ibid., ch. LIX). In the first instance, again, the theory of election is supplemented by that of quasi-sanctity of the king, from which follows the doctrine of sinfulness of slighting royalty¹. In the last two cases we are told in graphic language how it was by the direct act of the supreme god, Brahma or Viṣṇu, moved thereto by the acute distress of the people, that a ruler was set over them². How very remote this is from the idea of 'contractual origin of kingship'. And going back for a moment to the three accounts above mentioned, we are tempted to ask how very one-sided after all is the element of contract that actually enters into their composition. In the Aś. the contract is implied and not expressed, and its result is stated to be that the king is *spiritually* responsible for his misgovernment, while he is entitled to his usual one-sixth share even from hermits dwelling in the forest. It follows that the subjects have no explicit authority to bring the king to account for his misdeeds and inflict upon him temporal penalties, but he must needs be made subject to spiritual sanctions. Similarly in ch. LXVII of the Śāntiparvan the people are said to have entered into an agreement with Manu, the king-designate, but the agreement which was meant to overcome Manu's reluctance to rule only stipulated for the subjects' payment of the royal dues and their granting the king immunity from their own sins³. In ch. LIX, it is true, Pṛthu, the first 'king' (rajan) is said after his miraculous birth to have complied with a long list of promises ending in the famous pratijñā ('coronation-oath') (cf. H. P., Pt. II, pp. 46-47). But J., while quoting the context in which this important statement occurs in full, fails to reproduce the whole story and thus helps to present a distorted version of its true constitutional significance. For, in the lines following

1 Aś. I. 13. Indrayamasthānametadrājānaḥ pratyakṣahedaprasādāh/
tānavamanyamānān daivo'pi daṇḍah spṛśati/ tasmadrājāno nāvaman-
tavyāh//

2 Cf. Śānti, LIX, 87 ff; Ibid., LXVII, 20 ff.

3 See loc. cit., 22-29.

those describing Pṛthu's consecration, Bhīṣma is made to explain, obviously in reply to the latter part of Yudhiṣṭhira's query ("why does one man rule over the many who are his equals in all respects"?), that the Lord Viṣṇu entered the person of the king, whence kings are revered by the people as gods. Why should the people submit to one man, the royal sage goes on, except for his divine quality? A god is born on earth as king after his stock of spiritual merit is exhausted, and is endowed with Viṣṇu's divine majesty. As he is established by the gods, no one transcends him and every person submits to his authority¹. It will be seen from the above that the idea of the coronation-oath is here swamped, if not superseded, by that of the king's divine nature which is explicitly declared to be the basis of his rule over his subjects.

IV The well-known account of the origin of kingship in the *Manavadharmaśāstra* undoubtedly carries the king's authority to a high pitch. But is it correct to state that it had "no direct support in the earlier literature"? The divine creation of the human king is already fore-shadowed in the story of the creation of Indra's sovereignty by Prajāpati in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* that we have cited above. Furthermore, the description of the coronation ritual in the *Brāhmaṇas* would itself without "twisting" "support" the theory of the king's divine nature. In the accounts of the great ceremonies of royal consecration in the later *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, we are again and again told how the yajumīna is raised by the sacred act of the ritual to the status of the gods. The following passages that are relevant to this case may be mentioned in this connexion. The *Śat. Br.*, describing one of the rites of the *Vajapeya*, says (V, 2, 2, 14-15): tad brhaspater evainam etatsāyujyam salokatāṃ gamayati...devebhyo nivedayatyayan mahavīryo yo' bhyācetyayan yuṣmakaiko' bhūt tam gopāyati. In another place (V. 2 1. 11) it states; prajāpateḥ prajā abhumeti prajāpaterhyeṣa prajā bhavati yo vajapeyena yajate. In connexion with the *Rājasūya*, we have the following: *Śat. Br.*, V. 4. 3. 4: eṣa Indro bhavati yacca kṣatriyo yadu ca yajamanah: Tāṇḍya Mahabr., XVIII, 10. 10: yadvai rājasūyenābhiśicyate tat svargam lokamārohati. For the *Aśvamedha*, *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 4. 3 says: tad yadenam devaiḥ saṃgāyanti devairevainam tatsalokaṃ kurvanti; *Taitt. Br.*, III, 9. 20. 2: aśvenaiva medhyena prajāpateḥ sāyujyam salokatāmāpnoti/ etāsāmeva devatānām sāyujyam sārṣṭitām

¹ See *Śanti*, LIX, 128, 131, 134-135.

samānalokatām āpnoti yo'svamedhena yajate. This doctrine of divine sanctity of the Kṣatriya yajamāna or the king is held in one important Brāhmaṇa passage to be the basis of his rule over his subjects. We refer to Śat. Br., V, 1. 5. 14 where it is said with reference to a Rājāsuya rite making the sacrificer shoot to a certain distance with an arrow, 'tad yat rājanyaḥ praviddhyati eṣa vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣtamaṃ yat rājanyastasmād ekaḥ san bahunāmṛṣṭe

Not merely in its antecedents but also in its later history is the Mānava account of the origin of kingship related to other canonical works. It would indeed be exceedingly strange if one of the most characteristic doctrines of the Manu-smṛiti were "not" to be "approved or adopted by a single subsequent law book". For was it not a Smṛiti writer who declared : vedarthopaniṣan dhṛtvāt prādhānyaṃ hi manoh smṛtam/ manvathaviparītā ya sa smṛtir na praśasyate¹. Nor does the reason advanced by J. for the alleged unique character of Manu's theory commend itself to our approval. For assuming that the Manavadharmaśāstra was written to support the rule of the Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra, was not "political rule by a Brāhmaṇa" sanctioned by the Smṛtis as an *āpadhūma*? Reverting to the point which immediately concerns us, what is the evidence tending to show that Manu's theory "tailed miserably"? J. claims the authority of constitutional writers to the effect that the Manava doctrine was transformed into a "divine theory of the servitude of the king to the subject". But the only "writer" who holds this view is the author of the Śukraniti, and his famous doctrine (I. 188) is not even once mentioned or attended to by J. either in the present context or in the two chapters to which reference is made in the footnote. On the other hand theories of kingship resembling that of Manu are found in many of the later "law-books" and Purāṇas. We have room for a few examples. Nārada (XVII, 21-22) rakṣadhikārādīśatyadbhutanugrahadarśanāt yadeva kurute raja tat-pramaṇamīti sthitiḥ/ nīrbalo'pi yatha śrīṇam pūjya eva patih sada/ prajānāṃ vīgūṇo' pycvaṃ pūjya eva prajāpatih /; Ibid. 26 : pañca rupāṇi rajano dharayantyamitaujasah/ agnerindrasya soma-ya

1 Brhaspati, quoted by Kullūka in his com. on MS., I. 1.

2 Cf. MS., x, 81; Yāj., III, 3, 5 etc. Medhātithi commenting on the former verse says : yadāśya śarīrakuṭumbasvanityakarmāvasado bhavati—tadā kṣātrivivat grāmanagararakṣadīnā śāstradharanādinā sati sambhave sarvadhīpatyena jivet.

yamasya dhandasya ca// ; Ibid., 52 : śuciścaivāśuciḥ samyak
 katham raja na daivatam// ; Ibid., 54-55 : loke'sminmaṅgalānyaṣṭau
 brāhmaṇo gaurhutāśanaḥ/ hiranyaṁ sarpir aditya apo rajā tathāś-
 ṭamaḥ// etanī satataṁ paśyennamasyedarcayet svayam/ pradakṣiṇaṁ
 ca kurvīta yathāśy.ayuh pravardhate// ; Brhatparāśara (quoted in Raja-
 nītiprakāśa, p. 23) : ājñā nṛpāṇam paramaṁ hi tejo yastaṁ na manyeta
 sa śāstravadhyah/ śrūyācca kuryācca vadecca bhūbhṛt tadeva
 kāryaṁ bhuvi sarvalokaiḥ// durdharsativrāṇśusamānadipter brūyān-
 manuṣyaḥ parusaṁ nṛpasya/ yastasya tejo'pyavamanyamānaḥ sadyaḥ
 sa pañcatvamupaiti papāt//

V To argue in the face of the above that in the Hindu theory the king was a servant of the State and his office was a trust is to admit the validity of one set of facts to the exclusion of another set of at least equal indisputability. How strong a spell the sentiment of divine sanctity of the king cast upon the Hindu mind may best be gauged from its survival down to modern times. In a famous Bengal Vaiṣṇava work of the early 17th century, a Hindu officer of the Moslem court is represented quite naturally as addressing his master, an unconsecrated Yavana, as a part of Viṣṇu¹. And is it not a matter of common knowledge that to the present day the Raja of Puri is popularly known as Calanti Viṣṇu.

G.

Two remarks on Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity

I

In H. P., Pt. 1, p. 4 (repeated, ed. Rājanītiratnākara, Intro., pp. t & n.) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal claims to have discovered the existence of an old Arthaśāstra writer called Āditya. But the text on which he relies (Āśv. Gr. Sūtra, III. 12. 16) occurs in the midst of a section on battle-rites, and it cannot be made by any accepted canon of evidence to support this discovery. In the original it runs as follows :—adityamaśanasam vāvasthaya prayodhayet".

1 See the Caitanyacaritamṛtam of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, Madhyahla, ch. I. The passage referred to occurs in the course of the address of the Dabir Khas to Alauddin Hussain Shah, and runs as follows :—tumi narādhīpa hao Viṣṇu aṁśa sama.

Which Nārāyaṇa in his vṛtti explains as—

Yasyaṃ diśi ādityas taṃ diśaṃ asthaya āhani cet' ratrau ced
yasyāṃ diśi śukras taṃ diśaṃ parigṛhya yodhayed rajaḥ na pratyā-
dityaḥ yudhyeta nāpi pratiśukram ityarthah.

Thus 'Āditya' and 'Uśanas' would seem in the above passage to refer to the direction of the sky in which the Sun and Venus happen to be placed. That this is the correct sense would also appear from the occurrence of the word 'diś' in the immediately preceding sūtra : sarva diśo' nupariryayat—which is explained by the commentator 'atha rajā sarva diśo rathenaanukramena gacchet.'

II

In Ch. XXV of H. P. (pp. 27-28) Mr. J. while explaining the constitutional significance of the coronation ritual in the Brahmanas, quotes a passage of the At. Br. (VIII, 15) relating to its description of the Mahābhīṣeka of kings. This passage is taken by him, without any qualification, to establish the institution of the coronation-oath. Now the text along with the relevant parts of the context stand as follows :—

Sa ya icched evaṇvīt kṣatriyamayaṃ sarvā jītiḥ jayeta . . . tam etena indreṇ mahābhīṣekena kṣatriyaṃ śapayitva abhīṣincit' yaṃ ca ratrimajayetha yaṃ ca pretas tadubhaya nantareṇaṣṭapūrtam te lokaṃ sukṛtamavuh prajāṃ vṛñjityaṃ yadi me druhyeriti . . . sa ya icched evaṇvīt kṣatriyo'ham sarvā jītiḥ jayeyamaham . . . sa bṛuyat saha śra-ddhayā yaṃ ca ratrim etc. (up to prajāṃ as above) vṛñjitha yadi te druhyeyamiti. From the fact of the administration of the oath by the ācarya and the king's reply to him in the second person singular (cf. vṛñjitha yadi te druhyeyam) it is evident that what we have here is the king's solemn promise of protection to the individual priest and not a general promise of protection of the subjects. In interpreting the above extract, however, Mr. J. ignores the context altogether, and translates (p. 28) the passages within brackets as 'May I be deprived of, if I oppress you'. Thus he lends himself to the charge of distorting the sense to suit his own preconceived theory.

G.

'Technical Hindu Constitutions'

In part I, chapter X of his *Hindu Polity*, Mr. Jayaswal tries to clear up the meanings of the terms 'bhaujya', 'svārājya', 'vairājya', etc., found in use in Sanskrit, Pāli, or Jaina literature. I do not think that his attempt has improved the situation. Sāyana's explanation of the terms is based more or less upon their literal meanings and does not give us any clue by which we can come to the conclusion that some of them were not names of the monarchical forms of government prevailing in the various parts of India. That these names were current in the different parts of India is clear from the fact that Indra was installed by the gods as *samrāt* in the east, as *bhoja* in the south, as *svarāt* in the west, as *vīrāt* in the north, and as *rājā* in the central region (*Āit. Br.*, viii, 14). It is difficult to state that at the time when the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* was composed, there were different forms of democratic government in the parts of India mentioned above and that some of the aforesaid names were appellations of these forms of democratic government. It may be that in later times, some of the aforesaid parts of India witnessed the evolution of democratic forms of government, e. g. the eastern region, where the Licchavis and other self-governing communities established their dominions, but this does not ensure the fact that the terms in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* indicate the existence of democratic forms of government in the different regions at the time of the composition of the *Brāhmaṇa*.

Mr. J. states that he has been able to have light on the subject from the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* and the inscriptions of Aśoka. According to him a passage of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (pt. iii, p. 76) enumerates the careers open to a *kuloputtha*. The context however shows that the passage is not meant for such enumeration. To give a clear idea of the context, I quote here the passage :

"Yassa kassaci Mahanama kulaputtassa panca dhammā samvijjanti, yadi va rañño khattiyassa muddhābhisittassa yadi vā raṭṭhikassa

1 According to Sāyana, *sāmrajyam* is *dharmena pālanaṃ* (righteous government), *bhaujyam* *bhegasamiddhiḥ* (increase of enjoyment), *svārājyam* *aparādhiṇatvaṃ* (absence of dependence on others), *vairājyam* *itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaśiṣṭyam* (enjoyment of more distinguished qualities than possessed by other kings). See my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 13, fn. 9.

pettanikassa yadi vā seniya senāpatikassa yadi vā gīmayimikassa yadi vā pūgagāmaṇikassa, ye vā pana kulesu paccakaddhipaccam kārenti, vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā, no parihāni. Katame pañca ?

Idha Mahānāma kulaputto utthānaviriyadhigatehi bhoggehi bhaḥ balaparicitehi sedāvakkhittēhi dhammikehi dhammaluddhehi matapitāro sakkaroti garukaroti..... Matapitānukampitassa Mahānāma kulaputtassa vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā, no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ Mahānāma.....peputtad iradāsakamma-karaporise sakkaroti...pe...no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ.....khetṭakammantasāmantasamvoharepe ... no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ.....balipatiggāhika devata...pe...no parihāni.

Puna ca paraṃ.....samanābrahmanāpe...no parihāni”.

Buddha addressing Mahānāma surprised at the sudden change in the conduct of the Licchavi youths, who instead of doing mischief were sitting silent in a respectful mode before Buddha, said that if a *kulaputta* (youngman of good family) such as a duly consecrated kṣattriya king, a hereditary ruler of a raṣṭra, a military commander, a village headman, a head of a guild in short, those who singly exercise control over families, possess the following five qualities (pañca dhamma), he will prosper. The five qualities consist in the performance of duties (1) towards parents, (2) towards children, wife, etc., (3) towards field-labourers etc., (4) towards the gods who take offering, and (5) towards samāna brahmanā.

The passage which Mr. J. has quoted as in. 2 (pt. 1, p. 30) has been made to come abruptly to a stop after the word 'kaurenti'. The sentence however does not stop there but continues in the way shown above. The words 'raṭṭhika, pettanika' in the passage have been taken by Mr. J. to be of the same signification as 'Rastika' and 'Pitinika' of Aśoka's Rock Edict V and XIII. He tells us that "Aśoka in his inscriptions equates Bhoja with Raṭṭhika or Rāṣṭrika. The commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* explains the 'Pettanika' as being hereditary leadership (*sapateyya*), come down from forefathers (*pitarādattam sapateyyam, Aṅguttara*, III, Indices, p. 456; again *bhuttānubhuttam bhojati*, commentary at (ic.) p. 300). The Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas or Bhojas as opposed to Pettanikas apparently meant non-hereditary leadership. *Sāpateyyam* (together leadership) suggests that in each case there were more than one leader." The argument that because the expression 'Bhoja-pitinikesu' occurs in Rock Edict XIII, and 'Rastika-pitinika' in Rock Edict V, therefore 'Bhoja' should be equated with 'Rāṣṭrika'

is fallacious. It will be seen that in R. Edict V, the names that are found, are in the following order---'Yona Kamboja Gandhāra Rastika Petenika Aparātī' while in R. Edict XIII we find 'Yona Kamboja Nabhaka Nabhapanti Bhoja Pitinika Andhra Pulinda'. If the reason given by Mr. J. be consistently followed, then the 'Gandhāras' should be equated with the 'Nābhaka Nabhapantis', which is impossible. According to the latest interpretation of the edicts, the 'rastikas' are taken to be the inhabitants of Maharāṣṭra, and the 'pitinikas' to be very probably the inhabitants of Paithan. In view of these facts, the Bhojas cannot be identified with the Raṣṭrikas. Moreover, 'raṭṭhika' and 'pettanika' of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* cannot be the same as the 'rastikas' and the 'pitinikas' of the Edicts, because in the former, Buddha is referring to an individual and using 'pettanika' as a qualifying epithet of 'raṭṭhika' meaning a hereditary ruler of a raṣṭra. That pettanika is a qualifying epithet of raṭṭhika is also apparent from the use of the words 'yadi va' in the text separating the references to the various individuals from one another. The commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* does not support the interpretation that 'pettanika' means the hereditary leadership (sapateyya) of a gaṇa or saṅgha. Moreover, 'sapateyya' in Pāli does not mean 'together leadership' or 'board (of leaders)' as the word 'sāpateyya' (Skt. svapateya) means 'property.' The detached quotation from the Index to the *Aṅg. Nik.* (III, p. 450) viz. 'pitarādattam sāpateyyam' and 'bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati' have, I think, misled Mr. J. The commentary on the passage from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, p. 76 is given below to enable the readers to judge for themselves :

"Rāṭṭhikassāti adissu rāṭṭham bhuñjati rāṭṭhiko. Pitarā dattam sapateyyam bhuñjati pettaniko. Senāya pati jettḥakoti senāpatiko. Gāmagāmikassāti gāmanam gāmikassa gāmagāmikassāti attho. Pugagāmanikassāti gaṇajettḥakassa."

The commentary to p. 300 of the text runs thus : "Rāṭṭhikoti yo rāṭṭham bhuñjati. Pettanikoti yo pitarā bhuttānubhuttam bhuñjati. Senāpatikoti senāya jettḥako. Gāmagāmikoti gāmagāmikajako. Pugagāmanikoti gaṇajettḥako".

The passage from the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti, ch. 68, ślk. 54—Rājā bhojo virāt samrāt kṣatriyo bhupatir nṛpaḥ, ya ebhiḥ stūyate śabdaiḥ kas taṃ nārecitam arhati) cited at p. 90 of the *Hindu Polity* mentions the different appellations applicable to a king. The reference in Khāravela inscription to the paraphernalia of sovereignty possessed by the Raṣṭrikas and the Bhojakas is of little significance for our purpose.

until it is shown that from the time of the *Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa* the two peoples had a democratic form of government called, according to Mr. J., 'Bhaujya' with non-hereditary leadership. From this passage it cannot be inferred that the Bhojas had a particular type of democratic government. In view of what has been stated above, it cannot be said that the Bhojas identified with the Rāṣṭrikas had the Bhaujya form of democracy which gave its name to the people, and that the Pettanikas had a democratic form of government in which leadership was hereditary and there were two or more leaders simultaneously. The passage from the *Mūguttara Nikāya* throws no light whatsoever on the point and Mr. J's arguments do not at all improve the situation.

Now as to *svārājya* : According to Mr. J., it signifies in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* a peculiar democratic constitution prevailing in Western India. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, according to him, adds that [a wise man (*vidvān*) sacrifices by the Vajapeya and obtains *svārājya* i. e. becomes a *svarāj* (-self-ruler or president) by attaining *jyāiṣṭhya* (eldership) or the leadership among equals. This election was based upon merit, for Indra who is said to have obtained the *svārājya* consecration is described as having proved his merit. The members of the *gaṇa* according to the *Mahābhārata* were considered to be equals (*sarvāś sārva*). By piecing together all these evidences, he thinks that the *svārājya* was a form of *gaṇa*, the president of which was elected by the vajapeya sacrifice. (Mr. J's *Hindu Pol'y*, ch. X, p. 91). Now let us examine one by one the premises upon which he bases his conclusion :

The passage in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* says only this that Indra was consecrated to *svārājya* among the Nītyas and the Apacyas of Western India. This passage is silent as to whether *svārājya* was only a local appellation for royal dignity current among the two peoples of Western India or whether it was a democratic constitution of which the *svarāj* was the president. Light is sought to be derived from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The passage from the former has not been properly interpreted by Mr. J. It runs thus : Tenāyajata. Sa svarājam agacchat. Tam Indro'bravit inam anen yājayeti. Tenendram ayajayat, so'gram devatānām paryait, agacchat svārājam, ātiṣṭhantāsmā jyāiṣṭhaya. *Va evaṃ vidvān* vajapeyena yajate gacchati svārājam, agraṃ sam mānaṃ paryeti, tiṣṭhante'smā jyāiṣṭhaya. Sa vā eṣa brāhmaṇasya caiva rājanyasya ca yajñah.

There are three points in the above quotation adverse to Mr. J's view :

(1) If *svārājya* was a democratic constitution, how is it that Bṛhaspati a priest and not a kṣatriya was consecrated to it by the performance of the vājapeya sacrifice and obtained *svārājya*.

(2) Mr. J. draws an analogy between the passage in the *Taitt. Br.* and that on the gaṇas in the *Mbh.* and on the strength of that analogy, he draws the inference that the performer of the vājapeya sacrifice attained to the presidentship of a gaṇa. The portions of the Vedic passage important for the present discussion are :—

(a) ya evam vidvān vājapeyena yajate ;

(b) atisthantasmai jyaisthāya and

(c) agram samānānāṃ paryeti.

Mr. J. thinks that the passage (a) has reference to the wisdom of the performer, as election to presidentship required that the president elected should have merit, which in the present case is 'wisdom'. But 'evam vidvān' in the passage means 'knowing thus' i.e. knowing the story that Bṛhaspati and Indra had performed the sacrifice in the past and got the benefit derivable from it. The use of 'evam vidvān' in the sense of 'knowing thus' is common in Vedic literature e. g. *Aitr. Br.*, I, 22 ; I, 30 ; cf. Profs. Haug and Keith's translations of these passages.

The interpretation of the passages (b) and (c) in the light of the passage on the gaṇas in the *Mbh.* (XII, 107, ślks 6-32) has led Mr. J. to the conclusion that the performer of the vājapeya sacrifice attained to the eldership or presidentship (of a gaṇa) by election from among his equals. The passage in the *Mbh.* has this verse : jātyā ca sadṛśāḥ sarve kulena sadṛśastathā' (i. e. the members of the gaṇa were similar in regard to jāti and kula), which appears to Mr. J. to be of the same import as (c) supplemented by (b) quoted above. But though the meanings of the Vedic and the Epic passages may look similar, the resemblance is only superficial. In the epic passage on the gaṇas, there is reference to the gaṇamukhyas, who should be obeyed by the members of the gaṇa and should transact the more onerous business of the state. So it becomes evident that a few individuals were elected to gaṇamukhyaship from among the rest of the members of the gaṇa equal by *jāti* and *kula*. In the Vedic passage, however, there is no reference to any democratic constitution. There is reference only to *svārājya* which, when applied to Bṛhaspati, can mean only the foremost position among the priests and when applied to Indra may mean royal dignity called *svārājya* by the Nityas and Apīcya. Then, again, there is ambiguity in the epic passage as to whether there were several gaṇamukhyas in a gaṇa

or only one gaṇamukhya.' If the former, the president of a gaṇa was elected from among the gaṇamukhyas who themselves were not presidents. In view of all these difficulties, it cannot be inferred from the mere use of the words of superficially similar import in the vedic and the epic passages that *svārājya* meant a democratic government in the vedic period.

(3) The last sentence of the vedic passage states that the vajapeya sacrifice is performed only by the members of the brahmana or the kṣatriya caste. It was usually the latter who used to be rulers, and hence the *svārājya* attained by the members of the brahmana caste as the result of the performance of the vajapeya sacrifice was very different from rulership and meant only the 'foremost position'. That this may not be the meaning of the term when applied to the kṣatriyas is yet to be proved. As the rulers were generally kṣatriyas, the foremost among the kṣatriyas was the ruler. This position has no special connection with democratic government.

I have not been convinced by the argument put forward by Mr. J. to prove that 'vajraja' meant in the vedic period 'king's constitution.' This meaning of the term has been suggested to Mr. J. by Dr. Haug's translation of the passage. According to Dr. Haug, the word can have two meanings, viz., (1) without king, and (2) a very distinguished king, though the passage from the Kauṭilya (VIII, 2) and the commentaries thereon show the possibility of a third meaning of the term. To this we shall turn later on. Now in the passages from the *Aitr. Br.* the first signification has been thought by him appropriate for the reason that the *janapada*s as opposed to the *kings* have been mentioned as *abhiṣikta* in this

1. In vedic literature, *svārājya* means superiority of various sort. In the Śāṅkh. Śr. S., xv, 11, Vāk attained *svārājya* over all beings (bhutanāṃ śraīṣṭhyaṃ svārājyaṃ adhipatyam) by her control over the power of speech (Ibid., xv, 12). Again Varuṇa gained for his kingdom a supreme position (rājanāṃ śraīṣṭhyaṃ svarājyaṃ adhipatyam). In the passages xiv, 26, and xvi, 15 of the same work, *svārājya* has been taken by the commentator to mean *jyātiśraīṣṭhya* and *mānasaśidahi* respectively. So there is nothing peculiar to the term indicating that it meant the presidency of a gaṇa. Similar is the case with the word *jyāiṣṭhyaṃ*. It means in a passage of the Śāṅkh. Śr. S., xiv, 31 a high position that can be attained by one of a low family by the performance of the Jyēṣṭhastoma sacrifice.

passage, while in the other passages of the chapter, we find the kings as consecrated. The objections to this interpretation are :

(1) If the whole lands or the whole peoples were consecrated to sovereignty, could not this have been done symbolically through the king who used to be called 'virāt' ?

(2) So far as I see, there is no ceremony by which a whole nation as opposed to a king was consecrated to rulership. On the other hand, there is in the *Śāukhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XIV, 30) mention of a ceremony called *virāt* by which a single individual instead of a people could become a *virāt* (Mitravaruṇayorvai vairājyamanyatara nicchat svārājyamanyatarah. Taveva yajñakratu-mapasyataṁ virāt svarajaṁ. Teneṣṭva vairājyamanyatara apnot svārājyamanyatarah).

Prof. Keith in his translation of the passage *R̥g-veda Br̥hmanas* p. 331) remarks that "the sense is clear, though the construction is careless. Haug, however, seeks to render the *janapadāḥ* as subject and as being without kings, which is wholly inconceivable". Of the two meanings of the word 'virāt' pointed out by Dr. Haug, the mere fact that the *janapadas* are mentioned requires, I think, the aid of strong evidence to justify the adoption of the first meaning, stated already, to the exclusion of the second. Mr. J. finds such corroborative evidence in the *Kautiliya* (VIII, 2) and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (p. 83). He says that in the former work, Kauṭilya has used the word *vairājya* as a form of government and has rejected it as a bad form, and that Kauṭilya like his contemporary Greek thinkers held democracy in contempt. These statements of Mr. J. are wide of the mark. Kauṭilya has been speaking in the passage (VIII, 2) about the *vyasanas* of the king and the kingdom, and speaks of *Vairājya* as a *vyasana* i. e. distress through which a kingdom may be passing at a particular time, and not a normal form of government. The interpretation put upon the passage by Dr. R. Shamasastri fits in with the context and is supported by the commentaries as found in both the Trivandrum and the Punjab editions of the *Kautiliya*. Dr. Shamasastri takes *Vairājya* in the passage to signify rule which comes into existence by the seizure of the kingdom by an invader, the ousted king being still alive. In Dr. Shamasastri's 1st edition of the text, there are omissions which have been filled up in both the other editions and pointed out in a foot-note in Dr. Shamasastri's 2nd edition. The portion omitted after 'vinaśyati' runs thus : vairajyam tu prakṛticittagrahaṇapekṣi yathāsthitamanyauḥbhujiyata ityācaryāḥ. Neti Kauṭilyaḥ. Pitaputrayorbhrātrorvād vairājyam tulya-

yogakṣemamamātyavagrahaṃ¹ vartayetiti. Then comes "vairājyetu etc." up to "apagacchatiti".

According to the Ācāryas, dvairājya is ruined by the hatred, partiality, or mutual hostility of the two parties but a vairājya, in which (the invader naturally) tries to win the good will of the subjects, can be enjoyed by others (i. e. the people as opposed to the invader) as it stands (i. e. without the ruin of the state). "No", says Kauṭilya. "In dvairājya the evil due to dissension between father and son, or between brothers is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the kingdom being of equal importance to both the parties; while vairājya, which comes into existence by the seizure of the country from its king still alive, is not regarded as 'his own' (by the invader), is ill-treated, denuded of its wealth, or treated as a commercial article, or it is forsaken when the subjects of the state become disaffected".

In the passages in the *Ārathya Sūtra*, the Kevalin is advising the monks and nuns to avoid roads which pass through the countries where 'the ignorant populace might bully or beat, etc. the mendicant in the opinion that he is a thief or a spy, or that he comes from yonder (hostile village), or they might take away, cut off, steal or rob his robe, alms-bowl, mantle, or broom'. It appears, therefore, that the reason was not *one* as stated by Mr. J. viz., that the 'states are prone to suspect strange ascetics as political spies' but *several*, indicating that not only was there the danger of being arrested under suspicion as spies, but also of being beaten, robbed, etc., the consequences of anarchy or misrule. If we scrutinize the passage, we shall see that except in the case of 'gaurāṅgī' under which there can be only the danger of being arrested as spies, the rest of the instances indicate want of rule, misrule due to weak government in a period of transition, or disturbances, due to the internal or external troubles of the realm. The 'vairājya' here cannot be a normal form of king's government as Mr. J. thinks. The *Kauṭilya* furnishes the clue to its meaning. The word signifies the

1 The Trivandrum edition has 'amatyavagraham' while the Punjab edition and Dr. R. Shamasastry's 2nd edition have 'matyavagraham'. The old commentary 'Nayacandirkā' in the Punjab edition has 'amatyāvagraham'.

1. Or *viraktam* may be taken as an adverb meaning 'when he (the invader) ceases to have interest in it (after the wealth of the country is sucked out to his satisfaction)'.

state of the realm when it is under the domination of another king, though the king of the realm is alive. Hence the corroborative evidence that Mr. J. wants to draw from the *Kautilīya* and the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* to support Dr. Haug in his interpretation of the term 'vairājya' in the *Āitarya Brāhmaṇa* is altogether absent.

Now regarding 'dvairājya' meaning 'joint rule by two', the passage from the *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra* omitted in Dr. Shamasastri's 1st edition gives the answer. Kautilya says that 'dvairājya' is better than 'vairājya' because in the former the evil due to disension between father and son, or between brothers is counteracted by the ministers, the welfare of the kingdom being of equal importance to both the parties. This 'dvairājya' is in the *Kautilīya* a *vyasana* of the state and therefore cannot be a normal form of government. This, as shown already, appears to be the meaning in which the term has been used in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*.

Three arguments are put forward by Mr. J. in support of his conclusion, viz.,

(1) The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā P., ch. 31 ; Ud. P., ch. 165) refers to Vinda and Anuvinda ruling jointly in Avanti.

(2) According to the epigraphic evidence found in Nepal, there was such joint rulership in that kingdom on one or two occasions.

(3) In view of the prevalence of the joint ownership of private property by the several members of a family under the Mitakṣara law in India, the transference of the operation of the legal principle to the region of politics is not a matter for surprise.

Re. 1. The two chapters of the *Mahābhārata* mention the compound 'vindannvindau' of Avanti. There is nothing else in the chapters to show that they were joint kings, and did not rule over separate territories within the country of Avanti.

Re. 2. As to the epigraphic evidence utilised by Mr. J., it is not at all clear that the rulers of Nepal belonging to the Licchavi and the Thākuri families ruled over the same undivided territory. On the other hand, Dr. Fleet states, "we have two separate families ruling contemporaneously mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.....From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town, and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at Khāṭ-māṇḍu itself, or close in the neighbourhood, the two palaces of Managṭha and Kailāsakūṭabhavana appear to have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And, though the inscriptions give no specific informa-

tion on this point, from the fact that the order of Anśuvarman, recorded in inscription E., is issued to the officials of the western province, and from the way in which, in inscription K., Mānadeva is described as marching to the east and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sāsantās* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Licchavikula or Śāyavaṃśi family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital; and the Thakuri family, of the territory to the west of it". Mr. J. says that epigraphists not knowing the *devarājya* form of government could not see its real significance and were therefore forced to suppose imaginary divided jurisdiction. The last few lines of the passage quoted above do not show that Dr. Fleet drew upon imagination in coming to the conclusion that the two ruling families held their sway upon two separate territories lying to the east and the west of the capital. On the other hand, he mentions in those lines the reasons which led him to arrive at the inference.

Re. 3. The suggestion that the 'devarājya' constitution though considered unworkable by the scholars could be easily worked by the people of India who are habituated to the joint enjoyment of property as members of joint families requires corroborative evidence. The evidence cited by Mr. J. have been subjected to scrutiny and found wanting, and therefore the facts of the extension of the application of the principle of joint ownership to the region of politics on the strength of the present data cannot be accepted.

The evidences adduced by Mr. J. for proving that there was in ancient India the *arājaka* form of constitution in which law instead of man was taken to be the ruler are not sufficient to establish his point. *Arājaka* means anarchy even in the passages quoted by him in support of his contention. According to him, there is a distinct term for 'anarchy' viz. *Mātsyanyāya*. But one of the ślokas from the *Mahābhārata* relied on by him states: Arajakāḥ prajāḥ pūrvāṇ vināśaṁ itī naḥ śrūtaḥ, parasparaṁ bhakṣayanto matsya iva jāle kṣaṇ (See Hindu Polity, p. 98). Here *arājaka* is nothing but *mātsyanyāya*. He has misunderstood the ślokas from the *Mahābhārata* quoted by him at p. 98, pt. i of his book. These ślokas commence with a sketch of the way in which kingship came into being in the kṛta age. At first there was no kingdom, no daṇḍa, no dāṇḍika. The people protected themselves mutually, actuated by their universal love of dharma. But in course of time, *meha* overtook them, making them avaricious, and *anarchy* ensued. The state of things in which the people lived peaceably by their natural love of *dharma* has not certainly been described

in the *Sloka*s as *arājaka*. It was when *moha* and *avarice* took away their former love of *dharma* that anarchy ensued. When anarchy prevailed, the people met together to enter into the agreement that whoever would commit an offence and transgress the agreement would be forsaken by the rest. This arrangement proved a failure, which put them to the necessity of going to *Pitāmaha* (*Brahmā*) to appoint a king over them, as without a king they would all be ruined. Mr. J. has read into the passage the existence of an assembly, the framing of laws, etc. In reality it was only an attempt on the part of the people to elicit system out of the confusion by mutual agreement, but it proved futile. This state of things cannot certainly be called the *arājaka* constitution. It could not reach the stable condition of a system, as it was really a passing phase of an anarchy. It resulted in a constitution by the appointment of a king by *Pitāmaha* when the people approached him.

That *arājaka* means anarchy and not a form of constitution will also be apparent from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ii, ch. 67), where it has been used in that sense in no less than 20 *Sloka*s describing the evil consequences that come in the train of anarchy. In the very chapter of the *Mahābhārata* from which Mr. J. has quoted *Sloka*s at p. 98 of his book, there are verses on the evil consequences of the *arājaka* condition of a state, e. g. *śloka*s. 3, 5 16. The term has been used in the sense of anarchy in the *Kautiliya* in the expression '*arājasyasanābhālah*' (I, ch. 17). That the same meaning is borne by the term '*arāyaṇi*' in the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* already mentioned is beyond any doubt, for there, as already pointed out, advice is given to the mendicants to avoid places where there are insecurity of life, and risk of being arrested as spies.

The interpretation put by Mr. J. upon the term '*viruddha-rājyāni*', viz. that these were states ruled by parties is extremely doubtful. In the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it may well mean states between which hostilities were going on.

It is not proper to call a *Yuvarāja-ruled* state 'a real and historical form of government'. *Yuvarāja* is a relative term implying a king over him, and a *yuvarāja* will become a king after the latter ceases to reign. The passage from the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* has very likely in contemplation a state in which the king has died and the crown prince has not yet taken up the reins of government into his own hands as king. During this period of transition, there was in ancient India every likelihood of the kingdom falling into confusion through various causes. The form of constitution that is borne by a state in which there is a *yuvarāja*

is certainly a monarchy and hence it is wrong to say that a yuvarāja-ruled state was a distinct form of government.

Mr. J. thinks that there is reference to three classes of rulers in the passage of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 1, 2, 2. The text runs thus :—

uggakulāṇi vā bhogakulāṇi vā rāṇnakulāṇi vā khattiyakulāṇi vā Ikkhāgākulāṇi vā Harivaṃsakulāṇi esiyaikulāṇi vā vesiyaikulāṇi vā gaṃḍāgākulāṇi vā koṭṭāgākulāṇi vā gaṃmarakkhakulāṇi vā pokkasāliyaikulāṇi vā, annataresu vā tahappagāresu kulesu aduggucchiesu vā agara-hiesu vā asaṇaṇ vā phāsuyaṇ jāva paḍigahojjā.

Here the Kevalin is advising the monks and nuns that they in the course of their begging tours can accept food from the following families, viz. the ugga families, the bhoga families, the ranna families, the khattiya families, the families belonging to the lines of Ikkhaga and Hari¹, cowherds' families, vaiśya families, barbers' families, carpenters' families, etc.

It is the first three families that are important for our present discussion. Mr. J. has taken 'bhoja' for bhoga and has been misled to think that as it is followed by the term 'rājanya' which according to him (part i, p. 41) may signify 'the leader of a family consecrated to rulership,' the third term occurring in association with the other two has also a constitutional significance. And as Malabar is called *Ugra*, very probably, the place had a democratic form of government called *Ugra*. The misreading of the text combined with the occurrence of the word 'rajanya' next to the word which he took as 'bhoja' is responsible for the surmise. According to the commentary on the passage, 'Ugra' means 'Āraṣṣika', 'bhoga' means 'rājnah puṇyas-thāniya', 'rājanya' means 'sakhisaṇṇethāniya'. The use of 'ugra' 'bhoga', 'ranna', and 'khattiya' is found in other passages of the Jaina scriptures, e.g. the *Āvaśyaka*, ch. i, gāthā 131, which gives the four terms, explaining them at the same time :

Ugga bhoga ranna khattiyā saṃgaho bhavē caula,
Ārakkhī guruvayaṇsa se a je khattiyā te u.

From this it becomes clear that in the passage in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* the Kevalin while naming the families from which food is acceptable by the monks and nuns is not referring to the families of the heads of democratic forms of government.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

1 These families are mentioned, because one tirthaṅkara belonged to the Harivaṃśa and the rest to the Ikṣvakuvaṃśa.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. vi, pt. i

- P. V. KANE.—A Brief Sketch of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā System.
- H. G. RAWLINSON.—A Century of Oriental Research.
- H. R. DIVEKAR.—Māla tu Pūrvavat (shows against the prevailing view that the above extract occurring in a Kārikā of Kāvya-prakāśa does not establish the identity of the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra).
- C. R. DEVADHAR.—The Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa. It tries to establish that the Svapna of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is different from, and probably a version of the original work written by Bhasa. Cites Sylvain Lévi's article in the Journal Asiatique for Oct.-Dec. 1923 in support of this view.

Bulletin of the French School of the Far East (Fr.), Jany-June 1924

- PAUL DEMEUVILLE.—The Chinese Versions of the Milindapañha. The two texts of the M. occurring in the Chinese canon were held by Specht and Sylvain Lévi, their discoverer, to be different works but have since been proved by Pelliot to be two recensions of one and the same version. Between these recensions it is difficult to decide which is the more ancient and the more exact. A complete survey of catalogues shows that there existed three Chinese versions of the M. or similar work : (1) a Sūtra of comparisons of Nāgasena translated in the 3rd century at the latest, and lost in the 5th century ; (2) a Sūtra of the Bhikṣu Nāgasena or Sūtra of Nāgasena, translated under the Eastern Tsin dynasty (317-420 A. D.) ; (3) a version of No. 2 executed by Guṇabhadra, a native of Central India between 435 and 455 A. D. and lost in 664. A comparison of the Chinese and Pāli versions of the M. shows wide divergences in the preliminary part (or rather a common foundation with the addition of different elements) and almost perfect agreement in the principal part. The 57th ch. of Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvavadānakalpalatā contains a prophecy of Buddha about king Milinda building a stupa in the Vālokṣa country. Now Vālokṣa can be shown to be situated in Gandhāra country and the above text of Kṣemendra appears to be based upon an ancient text transferring to Milinda a prediction relative to Kanīṣka. Several persons under the name Nāgasena are mentioned in the

Buddhist literature : (1) An arhat being one of the 16 or 18 arhats who were witnesses at the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha, (2) a heretical sthavira mentioned by the late Tibetan authors, (3) the Mahāyānist author of the *Trikāya-śāstra* mentioned by Hsüen Tsang's disciples, (4) the ancient master mentioned by Vasubandhu in the last section of his *Abhidharmakośa*. Opinion of Rhys Davids that the doctrine of Nāgasena swerves from the Hīnayāna cannot be supported. A review of the whole work shows that the doctrine of the *Milindapañha* in so far as the first part of the controversy is concerned is remarkably similar to that of the Nikāyas. As for the second part containing the preliminary controversy with Āyupala, one of the texts upon Buddha and the last portion of the work, we detect the influence of the Sarvāstivādin, and of the new-born belief in the efficacy of faith for salvation. French translation of the Chinese version. Appendices.

U. N. G.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. x, pt. II

S. PARANAVITANA.—The Colas and Ceylon.

Indian Antiquary, April, 1925

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO and M. K. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR.—The Copper-plates of Uttama-coladeva in the Madras Museum. The document belongs to the 16th year (985 A.D.) of the reign of Parakeśarvarman Uttamacoladeva and records the grants made to and enjoyed by the deity of Ūṇagam. It details the items of income accruing to the deity and the expenditure, and furnishes information about the state of civilisation of the times, the staff generally employed in temples in those days, the qualifications of the officiating priests, etc.

Ibid., June, 1925

ANANT SADASIV ALTEKAR.—A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad (Supplement to the *Indian Antiquary*).

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 45, No. 1

March, 1925

E. W. HOPKINS.—Words of Defamation in Sanskrit Legal Language.

E. FRAUWALLNER.—Untersuchungen zum Mokṣadharmā.

Journal and proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

N. S. Vol. XX, No. 1

- N. G. MAZUMDAR.—A List of Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions. The writer gives also the list of findspots or places of deposit and an index.
- GANAPATI SIRCAR.—An Inscription obtained from Bhubaneswar, dated the 11th year of Vira Nara-siṃha Deva of Orissa.
- BIMALA CHARAN LAW.—The Āśmakas or Assakas in Ancient India.
- Y. R. GUPTA.—Riddhapur Plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatī Guptā; the 19th year.
- KUMAR GANGANANDA SINHA.—On some Maithili Dramas of the 17th and 18th centuries.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—A Note on Ardhanārīśvara.

Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society

Vol. XI, pt. i, March, 1925

- G. RAMDAS.—Aboriginal Names in the Ramayana. The author sees in some of the names mentioned in the Ramayana an affinity to the languages of the aboriginal tribes, and tries to identify the Śavaras, Rākṣasas, and Niśādas of the Ramayana with the Mundāris.
- KALIPADA MITRA.—Impression of Five Fingers. It is shown from Pāli and Prākṛta literature that as in other countries, the custom of imprinting five fingers on the wall or door leaf as a means of averting the evil or bringing luck was prevalent in ancient India.
- K. P. JAYASWAL.—New Light on Hindu Political Science Literature. Here it is stated that the commentary on the Jaina author Soma-deva Sūri's Nītivākyaṇṭa acquaints us with the names of many authors on polity whose works are now lost, and whose names are not found in any other treatise on polity.
- RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.—Dates of Sanci Inscriptions.
- V. VENKATARAM SHARMA SHASTRI VIDYABHUSHANA.—Ajāmila-mokṣaprabandha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The short literary work named above has been described here.
- A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—Cakṣuṣīyam, an Arthaśāstra. Nineteen stanzas of the Cakṣuṣīyam, a work on polity, have been quoted here from a ms. anthology called Sūktiratnahāra.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI SASTRI.—Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Portion edited.
- DR. STEN KONOW.—Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ. Dr. Konow rejects the translation commonly made of this dhāraṇī, viz., 'O, thou

jewel in the lotus" and suggests in its place, "Thou in whose padma there is a mañi". He agrees with Dr. Thomas and Koeppen in holding that the *śaḍakṣara* is not an invocation of Avalokiteśvara but of his *śakti*. Fara the manifestation of the Prajnaparamita. As to the probable time of the origin of this *śaḍakṣara*, he states, "it is older than the time of the amalgamation of Buddhism with the idea of sakti, and is not from the beginning a Buddhist formula".

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Vol. I, No. 1, 1925

- DR. STEN KONOW.—Name and designations of the Ruler mentioned in the Āra inscription. The writer justifies his reading of Āra Inscription II. 1 & 2 *Maharajassa rajatirajasa decaputrasa kaisarasa Vajheskapacrasa Kaniskasa*. He cites a few instances showing that the first three designations are used by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Disagreeing with Dr. Fleet he shows that the title *Kaisar*, alone or with some addition, is used throughout Asia as also in the West. He prefers the reading *Vajheska* to Fleet's *Vajhespa* and recognizes in it the name of *Vasuka* of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions. As regards Kaniska, he suggests that it was not the great Kaniska but Kaniska II, son of Vāsiska.
- D. B. DISKALKAR.—Some unpublished Copper-plates of the Rulers of Valabhi (Watson Museum, Rajkot) :—
1. Copper plates in the Vala museum. The plates were discovered in 1900 in the ruins of Vala, a small town which occupies the site of old Valabhi. The whole collection consists of 20 plates, making 16 Valabhi grants, three of which were of Dhruvasena I, two of Dhruvasena II, three of Śiladitya I (also Dharmaditya), one of Dhruvasena III, and two of Śiladitya III, and the remaining cannot yet be assigned to any particular ruler. The important points in these inscriptions are four Valabhi dates, identification of Valabhi with the present Vala, and some grants to Buddhist monasteries. Tentative readings of the 16 grants are given.
 2. Copper-plates in the Bhavanagar Museum, No. XVII. Gorak. Baladitya copper-plates of Dhruvasena II (Gupta-Samvat 313) a grant made to two brāhmaṇas of Gorokeśa. No. XVIII. A grant of Śiladitya III (Gupta-Samvat 356) to the Buddhist monastery built by Acārya Bhikṣu Vimala Gupta.
- G. V. ACHARYA.—Notes on some unpublished Valabhi copper-plates belonging to the B. B. of the R.A.S. and lent to the Prince of

Wales Museum of W. India. No. I, Plates of Dhruvasena I (Gupta Saṃvat 210) a grant made to a Ṛgvedin brāhmaṇa. No. II, Plates of Dharasena II (Gupta Saṃvat 270) who granted a village for the worship of the image of Buddha, the requisites of the bhikkhus and repairs of the monastery. No. III, Plates of Dhruvasena II (Gupta Saṃvat 312) who granted a field to a brāhmaṇa. No. IV, The first plate of a Valabhi grant, probably of Silāditya III. No. V, Plates of Silāditya III (Gupta Saṃvat 346) granting a village to a Caturvedin brāhmaṇa. No. VI, Grant of Silāditya III (Gupta Saṃvat 346) making a grant to three brāhmaṇas. No. VII, Plates of Silāditya IV (Gupta Saṃvat 381), a grant to a brāhmaṇa.

P. V. KANE.—The Tantravārtika and the Dharmaśāstra Literature. The writer cites by way of illustrations some passages from the Tantravārtika of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa (8th century A. D.) and shows the great importance of the work for the understanding of the development and chronology of the Dharmaśāstra literature.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—The Bhāsa Riddle : A proposed solution. The writer with Dr. Winternitz takes a *via media* between the two extreme views, one attributing all the dramas to Bhāsa, and the other placing them after the 7th century A. D. and taking the works to be of an insignificant play-wright or play-wrights. The view of the writer is : "Our *Śvapna-vāsavadatta* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name ; the *Pratīnāyagan-dharṇyaṇa* may be by the same author ; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain."

C. V. VAIDYA.—The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Here the probable time of composition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa has been stated to be the 10th century A. C. as against the 12th century which is generally considered to be its date ; it is also argued that the author of the Bhāgavata might have lived in the Draviḍa country.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XII

JYOTISCHANDRA GHATAK.—The Dramas of Bhāsa.

P. C. CHAKRAVARTI.—Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus.

R. KIMURA.—A Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Journal of Indian History, April, 1925

BALKRISHNA.—The Beginnings of the Silk Industry in India. The writer produces evidences from Sanskrit works showing that

the silk industry was not introduced in India from China in the 3rd century A. C. but that it developed independently in India as far back as 1000 B. C.

H. HERAS.—The Palace of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

W. H. MORELAND.—A Dutch Account of Mogul Administrative Methods.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1925

G. A. GRIERSON.—Prakritica. Philological notes on *√sthā*, *Matsara* & *Macchura*, intervocalic consonants in the North west, prakṛt *b* and *v*, *paṇsu*, *kirata*, *cilada*.

J. CHARPENTIER.—Śākāla. The writer concludes that there can scarcely be any doubt that the word *śākāra* may be of Iranian origin and derived from *śaka* with the suffix *ara*.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR.—The Authorship of the *Nalodaya*. *Nalodaya* is not the work of Kālidasa but of the Kerala poet Vasudeva, son of Ravi, who lived in the courts of the Cera king Kuṭasekhara and his successor Rama in the first half of the 9th century A. D.

Quarterly journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1925

H. HERAS.—The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the Pudu mandai am.

V. H. VADER.—Whether Sri Vyasa was Contemporary of the Persian Prophet Zoroaster?

R. SHAMASASTRY.—The Home of the Ancient Hindus and their Policy of Racial Fusion.

V. VENKATACHALLA AYYAR.—The Seven Dwipas of the Purana.

A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI.—Further Glimpses into Gupta Literary History.

Sahitya Parisat Patrika, Vol. XXXI, pt. II

VIMANEHHARI MAZUMDAR.—Materials for the construction of the social history of Bengal in the later Vaiṣṇava literature.

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